SECULAR MUSLIM

JINNAH, HIS POLITICS AND PAKISTAN

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MD UMAIR KHAN

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"Pakistan which symbolizes the aspirations of a nation that found itself in a minority in the Indian subcontinent, cannot be unmindful of the minorities within its own borders."

-Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah.
3 February 1948-

The Book is Dedicated to my Family,
Friends and Loyal Followers.

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Foreword

Much has been written about Jinnah and the 'partition' but we must accept that we have failed to explain our national narrative in any cohesive manner to our youth. Essentially there are two narratives in Pakistan, both equally lacking in objectivity and fairness. The first narrative is that of the state, which increasingly has become a wretched state in terms of its ideological moorings. The corpus of this comes from the much-maligned Pakistan Studies, which presents the idea of Pakistan in starkly medieval terms conflating it with a primordial theocratic urge to create an Islamic theocracy. The second narrative is of the self-styled refuseniks. They too agree with the first narrative to the extent that they believe that Pakistan was envisaged as an exclusivist Islamist state. Both views are, in my opinion, not just uncharitable but also mala fide.

Mr Jinnah's political career right from 1904 to 1948 shows that he was never a supporter of exclusivist theocratic ideas. Starting his career as a secular Indian nationalist, the only politician to be called the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity, Jinnah slowly evolved his understanding of the communal differences dividing the people of the subcontinent. As a response, he forwarded what can be described in political science terms as 'Consociationalism' or a power-sharing arrangement between Hindus and Muslims to build an organic India from the ground up. By the late 1930s, Jinnah had come to accept the view that India, other than under British rule, was never one political entity.

Even under British rule, it had countless princely states in addition to British India proper. The first urge on Jinnah's part was to work towards a 'united India' on the basis of consensus between various communities or nations that existed in the subcontinent. It bears repeating that in 1946 Jinnah accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan which would have delivered precisely that united India but for the Congress leadership it was all or nothing. Gripped by the push for a centralised India, Nehru and Patel along with Gandhi torpedoed the very plan that could have preserved India's 'unity', apparently their stated objective.

The division became inevitable. Still, Jinnah tried to the very end to keep Bengal and Punjab united retaining large non-Muslim minorities. The Congress trio similarly frustrated this attempt. Jinnah's conception of Pakistan was of a secular state in the British mould, a model that Jinnah understood well and referred to in those many words in his famous 11 August speech. In other speeches, he repeatedly ruled out the idea that Pakistan would be theocratic, saying as much when he said that Pakistan shall not be a theocratic state to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. In short, a separate Pakistan 'outside' the Indian milieu was plan B, not plan A, and once Pakistan was achieved, it was envisaged by Jinnah as a secular state, not a theocratic one. There was no contradiction in Jinnah's mind on this issue and his references to Islam, few and far between, reinforced the view that a modern impartial non-sectarian state was in consonance with Islamic principles.

The work before you is a labour of love by Umair. A filmmaker by profession, Umair produced the documentary 'A Politician Named Jinnah: Definitive Edition' which then became the basis of this volume. In it, he has sifted through sources and archives that have not, hitherto, received the attention that they deserve. Umair has traced the roots of Hindu-Muslim conflict in mid-19th century colonial India and has given a consistent narrative about how a leader like Jinnah, who famously declared that he was an Indian first, second and last ended up being held responsible for the 'division' of that India, he so passionately fought to keep united for most of his life.

It also lays to rest the many myths both the state in Pakistan as well Jinnah's detractors have concocted since independence. Umair's work is therefore an important corrective, a work that needs to be read by all Pakistanis because in Jinnah we have a leader of who we can be truly proud. Jinnah is also the deep structure and master signifier of our identity. To come out of our morass, we would eventually have to hark back to Jinnah and his idea of a secular, inclusive and democratic state. This present work will go a long way in that process because eventually, the arc of history bends

towards justice. Sooner or later Pakistanis will come to appreciate the wisdom of Mr Jinnah and young scholars like Umair.

More power to Umair's pen! Much needs to be said and done in order to realise Jinnah's dream for Pakistan. I am sure in the coming years Umair will continue to add to the body of work, which will plant the knowledge trees for future generations.

Yasser Latif Hamdani
Barrister at Law

Introduction

When the Muslim State of Pakistan is mentioned, many consider it a 'flawed concept' because millions of Muslims still live in Hindustan under the Hindu majority. They claim that it was not just the 'partition' of regions but the partition of Muslims which divided them into two parts. Things, however, are a bit more complicated. Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, too realised that the creation of a completely separate and sovereign state would isolate millions of Muslims in Hindustan.

That's why, from the very start, he was looking for a solution which would secure minorities in the entire subcontinent, non-Muslims in the Pakistan region and non-Hindus in the Hindustan region. For that to happen, both regions needed to have some sort of connection. They were either going to form a confederation or become part of a federation. In the worst-case scenario, Jinnah hoped to have pacts between two regions which were to provide safeguards to minorities in both regions. However, it remained a dream.

On the other hand, we also define secularism poorly in Pakistan. Some postmodernists and ultra-conservatives argue that Jinnah can't be called secular because he created a Muslim-majority state and mentioned Islam in some of his speeches. They ignore that English Liberalism and political secularism were by-products of the Protestant Revolution, a religious movement which introduced a liberal interpretation of Christianity. The founders of liberalism used verses from the Holy Bible to justify the separation of religion and the State. In the beginning, their motives were quite religious. They wanted people to connect with God directly without the involvement of the Church and its corrupt priests in the middle. Over the centuries, these ideas evolved and gave birth to the modern Western lifestyle as we know it today.

While Jinnah, who was inspired by English Liberalism, didn't use verses from the Holy Quran, he tried to convince conservatives to accept inclusive democracy by claiming that it was compatible with the principles of Islam from over 1300 years ago as both stood for equality, justice and fair play. Not to mention, secularism merely means, not

using religion as a state policy to ensure coexistence in a religiously diverse society. On an individual level, one can adopt any lifestyle or interpretation of religion. Whether people agree or disagree with that interpretation is a separate matter.

A secular politician doesn't have to be an atheist, just like how the original founders of liberalism and their followers were staunch Christians in their daily lives and mainly worked to uplift the people of Europe, who happened to be Christians. However, when it came to state matters, they remained secular and abolished the authority of the Church in politics to ensure impartiality from the ruling class on top.

Demanding safeguards for minorities in British India was the same as Pakistani Hindus raising their voice against the injustice they face in today's Pakistan. Telling others about their genuine issues doesn't damage their secular credentials. However, ignoring their issues in the name of 'Pakistani nationalism' in our case or 'Indian nationalism' in the case of the Indian National Congress and calling their demands 'communal' can definitely be classified as ignorance, privilege, delusion, blind patriotism or hyper-nationalism.

When it comes to our poorly written school books, they tell the history from Hindutva's perspective but it's given an Islamic outlook. Their writers talk about the so-called Two Nations Theory, yet very few know that the Two Nations Theory was actually the creation of Caste Hindus and not Muslim politicians. These books talk about Muhammad bin Qasim being the real founder of Pakistan or an 'Islamic State' and its ideology in South Asia but fail to mention that this is exactly what's mentioned in the writings that inspired radical Hindu nationalists and made them conclude that Hindus were not just the followers of Santana Dharma, the Hindu religion, but were also a separate race.

They thought that Muslims were racially different from them and came from the deserts of Middle East to occupy their lands. The only difference is, those writings tell their readers to hate the Arabs for their invasion, while our books tell us to love them for their deeds and accept them as our ancestors. In reality, most of the Muslims in the Indian

subcontinent were either local converts or belonged to the neighbouring regions with some exceptions.

Caste Hindu leaders were also the first to demand separate sovereign states for the Muslims and Hindus. These demands were made even before the creation of the Muslim League in 1906. Ironically, non-Muslim Congress leaders from Punjab were the ones who called for the partition of their province, Punjab, along with Bengal on communal lines and demanded a separate and sovereign Muslim State. It was several years before Allama Iqbal merely demanded autonomy for the Muslim provinces of British India in 1930 at Allahabad in a speech which is greatly misquoted and distorted.

Then there are fake quotes and myths about Jinnah that have made things more convoluted on top of a defeatist mentality, confusion and inferiority complex that plague the 'enlightened' academics of Pakistan and ruin the youth as a whole, especially those who follow them blindly because of their popularity on social media. Their superficial analysis, simplistic views and catchy statements appeal a lot to the naïve minds going through their 'rebellious' phase and looking for the simple answers to complicated questions.

This also includes hyper-nationalists and provincialists who scapegoat the British administration for everything. British rule, most certainly, was guilty of committing many crimes, however, blaming them for all the ills of the society is also dishonesty. The subcontinent had a troubled past even before the British started their conquest. They merely exploited our weaknesses when necessary. Hence, this book aims to put history in order and separate fact from fiction by highlighting the realities of British India and Jinnah's political life from start to end. We'll also explore the reasons that led to the creation of Pakistan as we know it and what happened afterwards.

Chapter 1

English Liberalism

Mohammed Ali Jinnah's journey began in the 19th Century British Raj, also known as the 'Crown Rule in the Subcontinent'. British Raj had two regions: British India and Princely India. Since the transfer of power from the East India Company to the British crown in 1858, British India, which consisted of 'British Indian States', was ruled by the British administration directly. Meanwhile, Princely India, which contained 'Indian States' or 'Princely States', was ruled by the Indian monarchs; however, the British kept them under close watch to prevent potential revolts.

There are two versions of history regarding Jinnah's birth. According to the mainstream and official version, Jinnah was born in the city of Karachi, located in the Sindh province of present-day Pakistan. There is also a Sindhi nationalist version which claims that he was born in the less-developed town of Jhirk, located in the same province. Jinnah himself always claimed that he was born in Karachi; however, some call these statements 'political'.[1]

They often pinpoint a certain maternity ward in Jhirk as Jinnah's birthplace. This ward was founded by Aga Khan I, who was then the Imam of Ismaeli Muslims. Since, Jinnah's father, Jinnahbhai Poonja and mother, Mithibai, were Agha Khanis who followed this liberal sect of Islam, it's easy to see why some people associate this ward with Jinnah's birth. However, there are no official documents to prove it. Some blame President Ayub Khan for destroying crucial documents during his regime in the late 1960s to impose Urdu on Sindhis. In their opinion, for Ayub to justify his undermining of the Sindhi Language, it was necessary for him to remove the proof of Jinnah being from a rural area of Sindh.

According to these people, one needs to remember that the rural area of Sindh was primarily home to Sindhi speakers, while the urban area of Karachi also contained Urdu speakers; hence, the disappearance of such

[1] Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Statements and Speeches as Governor General

documents gave Ayub a chance to impose the culture, language and traditions of Karachi's urban areas on other Sindhi people with a little resistance. Last but not least, in the 1950s and 60s, some school textbooks from Sindh province also supported the Sindhi nationalist version of history, even though solid evidence was not provided in those books either. The books were stopped from being published in the 1970s.

Jinnah's date of birth also becomes a topic of debate now and then. His official documents show that he was born on the 25th of December 1876, which is also the version adopted by the book. On the other hand, the register of a school he once attended as a kid highlights 20 October 1875 as his date of birth. No matter when or where he was born, one thing is crystal clear, he spent his childhood in the urban areas of Karachi.

By birth, Jinnah's full name was Mohammedali Jinnahbhai Poonja. They called him Mamad at home. He was the first of seven children of Jinnahbhai Poonja, who was a middle-class merchant in Karachi in his early years. His wealth continued to grow over the years and he became fairly rich in the following years. One day Mamad's aunt, Manbai, the only sister of Jinnahbai Poonja, came to visit his brother's family and took Jinnah back to Bombay where he studied at Gokul Das Tej Primary School, a secular institute. He stayed there only for a few months but loved the city itself. It was much more developed and liberal compared to Karachi which was still rapidly developing.

After returning, he was enrolled in Sindh Madrassah-tul-Islam, an institute modelled after the British schooling system and inspired by Muslim Modernism. Later he was sent to Christian Mission High School. Historian Stanley Wolpert suspects that this high school was the main reason why he decided to adopt 25 December as his official date of birth, since mainstream Christians see it as the day on which Jesus was born.[2] Mamad was a free spirit since birth. He had little interest in studying at school and was always eager to escape the classroom, so he could ride his father's horses. He used to wear local Sindhi and Gujrati dresses and a "funny-looking yellow coat" when playing marbles with his friends.

[2] Jinnah of Pakistan by Stanely Wolpert, p 7

His friend, Nanji Jafar, claimed that one-day Mamad came back with a brand new cricket bat and stated that they'd only play cricket in the future. Nanji remembered how they spent their evenings playing a game which now happens to be the most popular and beloved sport in South Asia. Meanwhile, as Jinnahbhai Poonja's business continued to grow he acquired more equipment and land for his enterprise. Jinnahbhai's firm was closely associated with the leading British managing agency in Karachi, Douglas Graham and Company. A man by the name of Sir Fredrick Leigh Croft was its general manager. Mostly, he hated teenagers and enjoyed his own company; however, sharp Mamad was an exception.

In 1892, Croft wanted Mamad to learn business under Graham's apprenticeship programme in London. Mamad accepted his offer straight away; however, his mother didn't want his son to depart. She cried for several days and tried everything she could to convince her son against it but he didn't budge. Mamad continued to try convincing her and one day she agreed but wanted something else in return first. Mithibai wanted her son to get married before leaving for London because she was under the impression that a handsome young boy like him might end up getting approached by English women if remained single. She wanted her 'good boy' to stay away from 'manipulative and evil' women from a different civilization.

Mamad had no choice but to give in. His mother found a fourteen years old bride for him by the name of Emibai. Mamad himself was then sixteen years of age. Marrying at such a young age was considered quite normal back then in British India. However, this young boy never got to know his wife properly, as he only stayed with her for a couple of days before leaving for London. Before leaving, Mamad met his friend, Nanji Jafar, for the last time and handed his bat to him. Nanji was told by Jinnah to keep it and teach others about cricket once he was no longer with him and left for England.

Mamad said his goodbyes and departed British Raj in the January of 1893. This was a completely new world for him. He felt lonely in the streets of London at first and was greatly bothered by the cold winters of the city but quickly got used to it and became fond of this well-

developed city. He only stayed under Graham's apprenticeship for a few months before abandoning it for something else. He also got his full name changed to Mohammed Ali Jinnah and wrote it as 'M.A. Jinnah' like other Englishmen. He abandoned the old clothing style including his yellow coat and started wearing western dresses. Young Jinnah was tall and handsome, perfect for displaying the latest fashions of that era for men.

While London was much more developed and liberal than the cities of British India, it was still not without its flaws. Women were being emancipated but they were still not allowed to vote. A group of women started the first-wave feminist movement, also known as the 'Women's Suffrage Movement', to get the right to vote in elections. It was gaining momentum in the city but brutal crackdowns on meetings by the police were also quite common. In this developed city, a brown boy from an underdeveloped region of British India was amongst a very few men who actively took part in the movement to empower women of a 'developed nation'. On 14 September 1948, three days after Jinnah's death, M.S. Agatha Harrison, who contributed much to women's cause, recalled:

> "When Jinnah was a student in London, the suffragette movement was gathering momentum... Young Jinnah always came to our meetings and spoke in defence of the vote for women. Even then he was not afraid of championing an unpopular cause."[3]

This described Jinnah in a nutshell. He championed the cause of oppressed groups and always looked forward, instead of being nostalgic about past trends. Coincidentally, a liberal politician, William Gladstone, was also serving as Prime Minister for the third time when Jinnah was staying in London. Gladstone started his career as a conservative politician but over the years his outlook changed as he started questioning the role of the Church in politics. He concluded that it was better to connect with God directly and answer our conscience instead of

[3] FOUNDING FATHER: Jinnah and women`s emancipation by Dawn

involving a middleman. Gladstone was amongst those who greatly inspired Jinnah throughout his life.

Young Jinnah used to watch national debates in the House of Commons from the Visitor's Gallery, as issues like the rights of minorities, Indians, women and so on were discussed. This was the beauty of liberal democracy; despite issues, there were also signs of progress, which left a lasting impression on Jinnah's character and made him interested in liberal politics. Dadabhai Naoroji of Indian National Congress was the first Indian to reach the House of Commons during this age. This was a big step forward for the liberals in England and Indians in general. Years later, Naoroji became one of the mentors of Mohammed Ali Jinnah when he also joined the Congress Party.

Naoroji, also known as 'The Grand Old Man', was from a Parsi family and was considered a liberal giant by the young Indian nationalists. Another popular Indian liberal from that period was Gopal Krishna Gokhale, a follower of Edmund Burke. Gokhale was from the Hindu community and is remembered as one of the greatest liberals of the subcontinent. According to Jinnah, one of his greatest desires in life was to become a "Muslim Gokhale". Gokhale was also Jinnah's mentor, but apart from that, they were also good friends. Till his last days, Jinnah greatly admired Gokhale and called him the "tower of intellect". When Jinnah was at Lincoln's Inn, Gladstone's biographer and one of his greatest followers, John Morley, was elected a bencher.

Jinnah often quoted his book 'On Compromise' during conversations with his colleagues. John Morley became the Secretary of the State for India in 1905 and performed his duties till 1910. Morley, a Gladstonian Liberal, probably had more impact on Jinnah than anyone else. He was the reason why Jinnah continued to identify himself as a liberal throughout his life.

> "Fortune smiled on me, and I happened to meet several important English Liberals with whose help I came to understand the doctrine of liberalism. The liberalism of Lord

> Morley was then in full sway. I grasped that liberalism, which became part of my life and thrilled me very much."[4]

During his days in London, he also studied the history of liberalism and secularism. Both had different versions around the globe but two main branches. The first one was Laicism, which comes from French Revolution. It was later adopted by Turkey under Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. It is a militant version of secularism that imposes its values on people by force. At times, it feels more anti-theism than focusing on achieving religious co-existence by creating an inclusive society, which is the real end goal of secularism. The second version is linked with British history. It's a lot more tolerant and believes in evolution, co-existence, and personal laws for every religious community and constitutionalism. This version of liberalism and secularism, which was also adopted by the likes of William Gladstone and John Morley, can be traced back to the beginning of Protestant Christianity.

Martin Luther, a priest born in 15th Century Germany, was the founder of Protestantism. His Protestant Movement reformed the Christian faith. It slowly led to the liberation of people and the beginning of the age of reason and modernism. He saw Catholic Church as a corrupt institution and highlighted its corruption and poor policies. In the coming centuries, his actions led to the decline of its influence over society, especially in politics. Protestantism also had a sub-sect known as 'Calvinism'. It was founded by a pastor, John Calvin, who was born in 16th Century France. Calvin's theological beliefs, based on his study of the Bible, captured adherents from around the Christian World. Calvin believed that sexual morality should apply equally to both men and women.

He was a strong critic of monarchies and wanted people to have power in the affairs of the State. He saw everyday occupations and the satisfaction one derives from them as God's call. His philosophy uplifted several from their miserable condition and turned them into

[4] Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan by Hector Bolitho

wealthy people. His views later evolved and became the spirit of modern capitalism and the modern lifestyle on which the whole Western or Judeo-Christian civilization rests. Even Western Atheists who 'don't believe in the concept of a deity' or those who have 'their own moral code' can't escape the fact that everything they have today in society can be traced back to the religious movements of the past. Everything that came afterwards was just its evolution, and every generation improved upon it further.

The Church and the State, however, were properly separated by John Locke, a religious English Philosopher from the 17th Century. His interpretation of the Bible concluded that religion didn't allow the State to interfere in the matters between man and God. French Revolution took place in the 18th Century. During this revolution, certain groups destroyed places of worship and deposed the Christian calendar. They then introduced a new calendar which marked the French Revolution as the starting point instead of Jesus' crucifixion. They also tried to impose an atheistic and non-religious way of living on people by force. While such groups were crushed, their methods lived on and inspired some of the future leaders in some shape or form.

Jinnah's liberalism and secularism were of the British variety and inspired by Christian reformists like Luther and English philosophers like Locke. This version of liberalism is also called Classical Liberalism. Even though socially and politically, Jinnah was inspired by Classical Liberalism, later he also started seeing its flawed economic system. He was convinced that neo-capitalism was the main reason behind the poor distribution of wealth and the condemnable treatment of the working class. Economically, he started to root for a Social Welfare State based on equality and a classless society.

So, it was liberal democracy which made young Jinnah interested in politics and rule of law in the first place; otherwise, he departed for London to study business, so he could help his father afterwards. Apart from his love for constitutionalism and politics, Jinnah was also a great admirer of art. He watched stage shows and loved the work of Shakespeare. He applied for acting after leaving Graham's apprenticeship programme, so he could get a chance to play Romeo someday. When

Jinnah got an invitation to take part in a play; he told his father that he was meant for this profession and not anything else.

His father was already unhappy about the way Jinnah had deviated from his original mission, so, the acting was too much for Jinnahbhai Poonja who asked Jinnah to "not be a traitor to the family".5 Jinnah was also told that his mother was no more and his wife too sick to make it. Jinnah lost his wife shortly after he first received his father's letter. The deaths of both crushed Jinnah's soul. Depressed young Jinnah abandoned acting as a career and joined Lincoln's Inn to do bar at law. Hitherto, he was the youngest individual to do so and go through it successfully. However, he had to try multiple times to finally get his certificate.

Despite everything, the actor within him never died.[6] That's why he was mostly so good at delivering speeches and leaving his mark on crowds, women, followers, colleagues and adversaries alike. Even in old age and during the 'Pakistan Movement', he remained a great admirer of cinema and wanted to promote it amongst Muslims. Jinnah's follower, Mohammad Masud, suggested that Muslims should also enter the film industry and compete against other communities.7[7] He asked for Jinnah's thoughts on an upcoming film, 'Humayun'. Jinnah wrote back on 6 January 1945.

> "I am in receipt of your letter of December 30th 1944, and I wish more Mussalmans would enter into this realm of film industry, and I shall always be glad to do all I can to help it. I have noted that Mr Mahboob is producing a historical picture 'Humayun', and if I have an opportunity of seeing it I might be able to express my opinion about it, but generally I do wish that more Mussalmans would enter this line, as there is plenty of scope for them in the film industry."[8]

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[5] Jinnah of Pakistan by Stanely Wolpert, p 14
[6] Ibid
[7] . 30 December 1944. Mohammad Masud to M.A. Jinnah. Jinnah Papers v 11, p 378
[8] 6 January 1945. Jinnah to Mohammad Masud. National Archives

After his bar at law, when young Jinnah started his journey back to British India in 1896, Jinnahbhai Poonja's business was in decline. As far as Jinnah was concerned, now there was nothing of interest left for him in Karachi. So, after a temporary stay in his home city, he left for Bombay. There he started his career as a barrister and later a politician. Bombay was the city where he spent most of his remaining days.

Chapter 2

Moderates and Radicals

Jinnah lived a hard life between 1896 and 1904 as he was trying to build his career as a barrister in Bombay. He had to travel long distances on foot, and move back and forth between his apartment and workplace every single day. At this stage of life, he was receiving no financial support from his father. Jinnahbhai Poonja's business had also gone bankrupt. After bankruptcy, he sold his remaining assets and moved to Bombay to spend his last days with his sister's family. Despite living in the same city, Jinnah didn't interact with his family much and lived alone after his return from London. He was only close to his one sister, Fatima Jinnah, who was born after Jinnah's departure in 1893. When Jinnah became capable of financially supporting his sister, he sent her to Bombay's Bandra Convent School. Christian Mission Schools were still one of the best places to get a quality education in British India and Bandra Convent School was no exception.

This was also a brave innovation because in the conservative Muslim society of that era, sending women for the study itself was a unique thing; let alone, sending them to a Christian institute. No wonder, Fatima became the centre of discussion for her relatives and religious orthodoxy. Jinnah, however, remained by her side and used to travel several miles every weekend just to see her. Because of her hard work, Jinnah's support and the institute's quality education, she got admission to the University of Calcutta, which was not an easy thing to achieve back then. There she attended Dental School, while Jinnah continued to see her every Sunday for as long as she stayed there.

Jinnah was a fairly successful barrister in 1904 when he joined Indian National Congress. There he met Gopal Krishna Gokhale, a moderate who was to become his second mentor, along with Dadabhai Naoroji, and a good friend. Jinnah often helped Dadabhai write his speeches, but due to his old age and sickness, Dadabhai often left his speeches unfinished because he couldn't speak for too long. In such cases, Gokhale finished reading the remaining parts of these speeches

as a token of respect.[1] This special bond kept the trio together. All three of them were from different religious communities but primarily identified themselves as Indian nationalists. For moderates, Congress in those days symbolised the bright future of the free subcontinent.

The British Indian States were provinces with some degree of autonomy. They were called 'states' because they had some 'independence', despite being ruled by the same administration. Another such example is the United States of America, which contains several states with some autonomy but one actual ruler who sits in the White House. Present-day Hindustan also contains multiple states but one Prime Minister with the most executive powers. So, for such autonomous or semi-independent zones, both words 'provinces' and 'states' were used interchangeably. Such autonomous states or provinces are parts of the same federation. 'Sovereign state' on the other hand is a completely independent and separate entity.

In simple words, such states are countries with their own military, currency, foreign policies, constitution, the federal government and so on. However, multiple sovereign states can also share a loose centre. This centre usually takes care of the common interests of its member sovereign states. Such an entity is called a 'Confederation' or 'Confederacy'. European Union is a good example of a confederation. These things often confuse people about Indian politics, including Iqbal's Allahabad address and so-called Pakistan Demand. So, it was necessary to deal with the basics before delving deeper.

In 1905, Bengal was partitioned into two autonomous states or provinces. Western regions of Bengal had a Hindu majority and were more developed. These also included the city of Culcutta, which was like present-day Karachi. Calcutta not only financially supported Bengal itself but also, to an extent, played a role in bringing revenue and investment to the entire subcontinent. Eastern regions on the other hand had a Muslim majority. Despite being part of United Bengal earlier, these regions remained largely underdeveloped and looked like slums.

[1] Jinnah of Pakistan by Stanely Wolpert, p 26

Partition of Bengal separated Calcutta and other wealthy Hindu-majority regions from Muslim-majority areas. Economically, this worried some Muslims because they could no longer rely on Calcutta for financial support and development as much as they did before but most were happy to get rid of the Hindu elites of Calcutta. According to them, these elites were behind the poor distribution of wealth in the province. They believed that without the interference and monopoly of upper caste Hindus, they would have a much better chance of developing their region on their own, despite difficulties in the beginning due to starting everything from a scratch.

Meanwhile, the Hindu community wasn't happy after losing half of Bengal. They organised Hindu melas and street protests which often turned violent and played a vital role in the further radicalisation of the Hindu community. Even some Congress members also fell prey to these developments. In this time of uncertainty, All-India Muslim League was founded by the Muslim elites of India in the December of 1906, in East Bengal. It contained both conservatives and theocracy denouncing Islamic Modernists. Then the leader of Ismailis, Aga Khan III, who also co-founded the said party, became its first President. Muslim League, after seeing the response of the Hindus, decided to approach the British for safety and assurances, but nothing is ever free in politics. So, they aimed for three main objectives.

1. Creating a sense of loyalty for the British within the Muslim community.
2. Protection of rights of Indian Muslims.
3. Improving relationships with non-Muslims of India, by ending hostility towards them within the Muslim community.[2]

As far as the first objective was concerned, the Muslim elites, in reality, didn't care much about creating a sense of loyalty amongst the Muslims for the British rulers. They just had no one else to turn to because Hindu nationalism was on the rise in British India for quite

[2] All-India Muslim League's Manifesto

some time and the partition of Bengal only acted as a catalyst. On the other hand, the British government wasn't really dying to win the love of the Muslims either. They saw them as a counterbalance to the street politics of the Hindu community. They just decided to scratch each other's backs. In exchange for the so-called loyalty, Muslim League demanded reservation of seats and separate electorates from the British to safeguard the interests of the Muslims.

At first, Jinnah despised these ideas and suspected Muslim League of working for the British to divide the Indians on a religious basis. However, genuine grievances, and his wish to bring Muslims and Hindus on the same platform through a compromise compelled Jinnah to see their demands as "a necessary evil". He stated that communities would be at liberty to abandon separate electorates for joint electorates anytime they wanted, and even a Hindu could sit on Muslim seats and get elected by the Muslim electorates to highlight their issues if the said community had no objections. Many in Congress were still not on board with this idea but a compromise had to be reached if both communities, who didn't trust each other because of their troubled history, were to be brought together.

In 1907, during Surat Session, Congress was split into two branches: The moderate branch and the extremist branch. The moderate branch favoured constitutionalism and even a degree of cooperation with the British to win freedom for India in a peaceful manner. This side was ruled by Gopal Krishna Gokhale and also consisted of people like Jinnah and Dadabhai. The extremist branch was ruled by the Bal-Lal-Pal triarchy. All three rulers: Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal wanted to pressurise the occupiers through agitations and other radical means to push them into the corner and force them to flee. Amongst these, Lala Lajpat Rai came to be known as a 'hero', 'nationalist' and 'martyr' for many in the coming decades. However, his other side is often ignored by historians, which played a big role in changing the map of British Raj in the 1940s.

While these events were unfolding in British Raj, in British South Africa, Gandhi was already leading civil disobedience movements or Satyagrahas, to protest against the living condition of the Indians who

resided and worked there for the British Commonwealth of Nations (aka the British Empire). However, there was more to this movement than just uplifting the living conditions of Indians. It was actually about treating Indians better than the blacks or natives of Africa. Gandhi saw Indians sharing the same quarters and job posts with the Africans as their degradation because he considered his people racially superior than the natives. The word 'Kaffir' was frequently used by Gandhi for the natives of South Africa.

> "Apart from whether or not this implies degradation, I must say it is rather dangerous. Kaffirs are as a rule uncivilized, the convicts even more so. They are troublesome, very dirty, and live almost like animals. Each ward contains nearly 50 to 60 of them. They often started rows and fought among themselves. The reader can easily imagine the plight of the poor Indian thrown into such company."[3]

To make the British realise that, he led the civil disobedience movements in British South Africa. Upon his return to the British Raj, Gandhi used similar tactics to win freedom for the local Indians but the blowback harmed the freedom movement as a whole. Street politics and mass mobilisation often turned violent and went out of control at a moment's notice.

In 1909, Viceroy Minto; and Secretary of the State for India and Jinnah's inspiration, Lord Morley, introduced Minto-Morley Reforms. These reforms increased the number of members of the Imperial Legislative Council from sixteen to sixty. Twenty-seven of these were to be elected. Indians could now get membership in the said council, six seats were reserved for the Muslims and the reforms also introduced separate electorates for the representatives of the Muslim community. The powers of members of the Legislative Council were also increased to an extent. They could now somewhat criticise the basic actions of the executive, ask simple questions and express their views in some cases

[3] CWMG (Collective Works of Mahatma Gandhi)

but lacked influence in complicated matters such as defence, finance and foreign affairs.

Ultra-conservative Hindus weren't happy with these reforms. They raised the question that if Muslims could get 'special privileges' then why not them? Hence, Lal Chand and U.N. Mukerji established the 'non-sectarian' Punjab Hindu Sabha to safeguard the interests of "the entire Hindu community". On 21 and 22 October 1909, it organised Provincial Hindu Conference in Punjab, which criticised Congress for 'failing to defend Hindu interests', and called for the promotion of Hindu-centred politics.[4] In this conference, Sabha leaders strongly proposed that Hindus need a separate nation and that Muslims should not be given any rights in that nation. The Sabha organised five more annual conferences in Punjab in the coming years.

In 1911, due to pressure from Hindu nationalists, British Raj reversed its decision of Bengal's partition and both regions were merged once more. This pleased the Hindus but made the Muslim minority think of potential Hindu domination. In their minds, if the Hindus could dictate the British administration in 1911 then they'd do much worse in their absence later on, especially if the centre got dominated by them. As a result, Hindu-Muslim relationships deteriorated further.

All of these developments inspired one of the leaders of the extremist branch of Congress, Lala Lajpat Rai of Punjab, to co-found Hindu Mahasabha in 1915, which later became a militant wing of Congress during the age of agitation. Hindu Mahasabha followed Hindutva, a Hindu nationalist ideology, which can trace its origin back to the creation of the caste system thousands of years ago. Originally, castes were groups of people who were assigned different tasks like farming, preaching, trading etc.

However, in the following centuries, it continued to evolve and became part of a religious doctrine enforced by the ruling elites and clergy of the Hindu community. Then there were four castes, the top one being 'the most respectable one' by birth, and the lowest one containing 'the most inferior beings' from the Caste Hindu community.

[4] Jinnah Papers

Apart from these four castes, there were also the outcastes, also known as 'the Untouchables' or 'Dalits', who remained one of the most mistreated communities in the subcontinent for several centuries. From top to bottom, the caste system consisted of four categories.

1. Brahmins (Priests).
2. Kshatriyas (Warriors).
3. Vaisyas (Merchants, Banyas being a sub-branch).
4. Shudras (Peasants).
5. Dalits (Outcastes, also known as the Scheduled Caste or Untouchables).

People who believed in the caste system were called 'Caste Hindus', while those who didn't believe in it or belonged to the Dalit community were called 'non-Caste Hindus'. Many, if not most, Muslims in India were merely descendants of those who at some stage were Dalits or Shudras. These people converted to Islam to escape Brahminical Order, while the rest remained Hindu and awaited reforms or return to the purity of their way of life before it was taken over by the monks and elites of the society. Despite most of the Muslims being the locals, they were called 'Melechaas' by Hindu nationalists.[5] 'Melechaas' was a slang word used for outsiders, especially the ones from the deserts of the Middle East. So, for them, Muslims and Hindus were not just different religious communities but also different races. Basically, non-Hindus or 'Melechaas' were considered a separate nation, who according to the fanatics from the Caste Hindu community, didn't belong in their holy land of India.

This mindset wasn't just the product of the 20th century. It also saw an uprise throughout the 19th century. In 1867, a Hindu playwright and poet, Nabagopal Mitra, founded the National Promotion Society. Its job was to promote Hindu nationalism through education, newspapers, melas, gymnasiums, sports etc. By taking advantage of this platform in the same year, a Caste Hindu writer and intellectual, Rajnarayan Basu,

[5] Lala Lajpat Rai. The Tribune. 14 December 1924

wrote an article in his mother tongue which roughly translated into 'Prospectus of a society for the national feeling amongst the educated natives of Bengal'. In it, he described Hindus as a separate nation. In one of his speeches, he stated, "Hinduism, despite its caste system, presented a much higher social idealism than that of Christian or Muslim civilizations."

In 1872, the founder of the National Promotion Society, Nabagopal Mitra, spoke, "Hindus are a nation… The basis of national unity in India is the Hindu religion."[6] Both Basu and Mitra organised Hindu melas to celebrate Hindu civilization. This was way before Sir Syed Ahmad Khan ever stated anything about Hindus and Muslims being two beautiful eyes of the same bride. Hindu nationalists, on the other hand, always considered Muslims as outsiders and India as their land exclusively and no one else's. In 1887, both Basu and Mitra, along with a few others, co-founded Bharat Dharma Mahamandala. The end goal of this organisation was to create an Aryan State or a Hindu Raj in India that would later conquer the whole world.[7]

Their Aryan Race Theory was a lot similar to the one adopted by the European 'Social Darwinists', who thought that they, the Germans, were the most evolved race of humans in the world and the other races were holding them back. According to Social Darwinists, their ancestors dominated Euroasian Steppe. Years later, the Nazis of Germany, who followed the same racial ideology, concluded that the Jews were 'the least evolved race' on earth, hence, they should be exterminated first before anyone else. Hindu nationalists also considered themselves as descendants of this 'superior' Aryan Race who were being 'polluted by the unpure genes of the Muslims'. Organisers of Hindu melas claimed that the Muslim and the other non-Hindu contact were responsible for the decline of the Hindu Nation.

Later, such individuals became more vicious in their methods once they got inspiration from Nazi Germany's treatment of the 'Semite Races'. This is how the so-called 'Two Nations Theory' began and why Jinnah

[6] Three Phases of India's Struggle for Freedom by R.C. Majumdar
[7] The World's Eternal Religion by Bharat Dharma Mahamandal

saw separate electorates or other safeguards for the Muslims as "a necessary evil" for the time being, during the early days of Muslim League. However, unlike Hindu nationalists, Jinnah had his own interpretation of Hindus and Muslims being two nations when he talked about them in the 1940s.

Jinnah wasn't just trying to solve the communal issue; being a forward-looking man, he also supported, moved and drafted several resolutions to uplift the condition of the Indian working class, both in British India and British South Africa. He campaigned for free and compulsory education for all Indians along with fighting the cases of the oppressed classes throughout his career as a politician and a barrister. As a legislator, he was one of those people who laid the foundation of the modern judiciary of the free subcontinent; and, because of him, Indian soldiers were finally allowed to reach the ranks of officers instead of being used as cannon fodder.

In 1912, he supported the 'Special Marriage Amendment Bill', which was to enable interfaith marriages. In British India, interfaith marriages were banned, and once married, one couldn't apply for a divorce either. To marry a person from a different religion, either one of them had to change his or her religion or both of them had to denounce their respective religions. This bill aimed for allowing people from different religious communities to marry each other without changing their original faith. Jinnah's support for this bill was resisted by the clerics and his colleagues alike. His Muslim companions stated that this was against their way of living. Jinnah responded, "Is this the first time in the history of legislation in this country that this council has been called upon to override Mussalman Law or modify it to suit the time? The council has overridden and modified the Mussalman Law in many respects [before]." Some showed insecurity that this would completely wipe out their identities and culture, hence, Jinnah responded:

> "The Hindu Law or the Mohammedan Law, whichever you take, does create difficulty in Hindu marrying a non-Hindu or a Mohammedan marrying anyone who is not a Khetabia; but is that difficulty not to be remedied by means of legislation?... It

> does not say that every Mohammedan shall marry a non-Mohammedan and that every Hindu shall marry a non-Hindu. Therefore, if there is a fairly large class of enlightened, educated, advanced Indians, be they Hindus, Mohammedans, or Parsis, and if they wish to adopt a system of marriage, which is in accord with the modern civilization and ideas of modern times, more in accord with modern sentiments, why should that class be denied justice?"[8]

Jinnah had no place for outdated lifestyles or laws. Unfortunately, despite his best efforts, he couldn't get this bill approved and interfaith marriages and divorce remained illegal in British India. In 1920, he protested against Bombay's unpopular governor, Lord Willingdon, during his departure. He was amongst the working class of the city, gathered around the Townhall. The police were called and the crowd was beaten with batons. Jinnah also received some minor bruises on his arm but the crowd made its point clear. In memory of that day and Jinnah's other services for the common people, the working class collected funds and constructed the 'People's Jinnah Hall' in Bombay as a tribute. This hall still stands in Hindustan even after the complete independence of Pakistan and Hindustan.

In 1929, Jinnah drafted the 'Child Marriage Restraint Act' to stop child marriages. There was hardly any age restriction regarding marriages before this bill was moved by Jinnah's Hindu colleague, Rai Haridas Sarda. The bill demanded that males had to be at least eighteen years of age, while females had to be at least fourteen. Later the minimum age for females was raised further to sixteen, and then eighteen in the coming decades. This law serves as a base for marriages in both Pakistan and Hindustan today as well. When clerics and other Muslims called this bill anti-Islamic, Jinnah had to respond aggressively.

> "I cannot believe that there can be a divine sanction to such evil practices as are prevailing, and that we should, for a single

[8] The Works of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah v 1, edited by Riaz Ahmad, pp 369–375

> minute, give our sanction to the continuance of these evil practices any longer."[9]

In 1913, Jinnah officially changed his sect from Ismailism to Twelver Shia Islam, and remained a member of this community till the very end.[10] During the same year, Jinnah also joined All-India Muslim League but on one condition that the League members would join Congress in their struggle against the British for attaining self-rule. He convinced the League to drop the first aim of their original manifesto which was focused on winning the loyalty of the British.

By becoming a member of both Indian National Congress and All-India Muslim League, Jinnah tried to bridge the gap between two great communities of India, the Hindus and the Muslims. On the other hand, he convinced Congress to accept Muslims' demand for separate electorates as calls for 'Shuddi' (aka forced conversions) were on the rise. Jinnah claimed that separate electorates were not only a necessity at the present but also a matter of survival for the Muslim community. He stated that by reaching this compromise, both communities would be able to focus on more pressing matters and form a united front against the occupiers.

> "I would, therefore, appeal to my Hindu friends to be generous and liberal and welcome and encourage other activities of Muslims even if it involves some sacrifice in the matter of separate electorates... It is a question... of transfer of the power from the bureaucracy to democracy. Let us concentrate all our attention and energy on this question alone for the present. The Hindus and the Muslims should stand united and use every constitutional and legitimate means to effect that transfer as soon as possible."[11]

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[9] Jinnah: Myth and Reality by Yasser Latif Hamdani
[10] Khoja Shia Isna Ashri Jamaat. Records
[11] Jinnah of Pakistan by Stanely Wolpert, p 45

Due to Jinnah's hard work, the Lucknow Pact came into being in 1916, through which, Jinnah tried to end the three-way rift between the extremists of Congress, the moderates of Congress and the Leaguers. This pact finally united both the Muslims and the Hindus by bringing them on the same platform. Apart from moderates, members of the extremist branch of Congress, especially Bal Gangadhar Tilak, also supported this settlement between the two communities. Because of this pact, the Congress Party agreed to the right to separate electorates for the Muslims for the first and last time in the history of the subcontinent.

The Hindus conceded that the Muslims would have 1/3rd representation in the Imperial Legislative Council. A weightage formula was proposed under which the Muslims would get less representation than their population in the Provincial Legislative Councils in those provinces where they were in majority but more in provinces where they were in minority. This was done to empower Hindus in Muslim-majority areas, also known as Muslim India, and Muslims in Hindu-majority areas, also known as Hindu India. Jinnah used similar formulas several times in the future in different shapes and forms to bridge the gap between two communities and regions.

Lucknow Pact also demanded that no bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or another community shall be presented in the assembly without the approval of the concerned group. Provincial autonomy shall be given to the provinces with maximum powers vested with the Provincial Council. The Provincial Council was going to have the authority to impose taxes, raise loans and vote on the budget. All proposals for raising revenues shall have to be submitted to the Provincial Council for sanction.

There shall be an Executive Council in the provinces headed by the governors whose half of the members shall be Indian nationals. The members of the assemblies shall have the right to present an adjournment motion. Apart from the centre, seats shall also be reserved for the Muslims in those provinces in which they were in minority, under the weightage system. Protection shall be given to the Hindus in Muslim-majority provinces. In the centre, there shall be an Imperial Legislative Council consisting of one hundred and fifty members. 4/5th of the members shall

be elected for a term of five years based on direct election. Half of the members of the Executive Council shall be Indians.

The herculean task of bringing all stakeholders on the same platform was brilliantly pulled off by Jinnah against all odds. This was also the height of unity between the Hindus and the Muslims. Jinnah definitely earned the title of being the 'Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity', which the people bestowed on him. Due to Jinnah's capabilities as a politician; him being recognised as an ambassador of peace; his struggle for oppressed classes as humanity loving individual; and his career as a successful barrister, on top of being a good-looking and well-settled rich man, he literally gained the status of a celebrity in British India.

He was the talk of the town when approached by his Parsi friend Sir Dinshaw Petit's daughter, Rattanbai Petit, commonly known as Ruttie, in 1915. Then she was only fifteen years of age. She continued to approach Jinnah in the future but she was mostly ignored for the first couple of years. Later, Jinnah thought it'd be better to turn this into a proper relationship before proceeding further; hence, he married her in 1918 when she became eighteen years of age. Due to religious differences, Ruttie's father didn't approve of this marriage. She had to leave her home to get married.

Ruttie and Jinnah were married according to Islamic traditions. This was done due to legal requirements, as people of different faiths couldn't marry each other in British India. Hence, Ruttie declared herself a Muslim in official documents, but in her personal life, she continued to practice her old religion and kept her original name intact, as it's evident from her marriage papers and gravestone. On the midnight of 14-15 August 1919, exactly twenty-eight years before the birth of Pakistan as a completely independent and sovereign state, Ruttie gave birth to their first and only child, a daughter by the name of Dina Jinnah.

Jinnah was a pretty broadminded husband. Governor of Bombay, Lord Willingdon, once invited Jinnah and Ruttie to join his party. Ruttie herself looked like a celebrity all the time, just like her husband, and wore some of the boldest dresses of that era, even by 'Western standards'. She wore a low-cut dress which exposed her breasts at the

party. Lady Willingdon didn't like the way Ruttie dressed in her presence and asked the servant to bring her a shawl so she could cover her body.

While offering Ruttie that shawl, Lady Willingdon argued that she 'might be feeling cold'. Jinnah couldn't tolerate moral policing; hence, he grabbed his wife's hand and left the place by stating that Mrs Jinnah was capable of asking for a shawl herself if she felt cold. In 1920, when Jinnah was protesting against Lord Willingdon, during his departure, Ruttie was also there with him. Apart from supporting the working class, this was also the couple's way of taking revenge on Willingdons for their remarks at the party.

Chapter 3

The Age of Agitation

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, also known as Mahatma (The Great Soul) Gandhi, was born in 1869, not so far from where Jinnah first opened his eyes. Both were of Gujrati background; however, their worldview and political approach had nothing in common. Gandhi became a barrister after sailing off to England in 1888. Later he went to British South Africa where he founded 'Indian Ambulance Corps' to help the wounded British soldiers, during Second Boer War. This unit aimed to prove loyalty to the British and get something in return when the time came. He hoped that this would help him get closer to attaining freedom for his homeland. Later, Gandhi was given the 'Kaiser-e-Hind' award by the British for his services.

His infamous civil disobedience movement, also known as 'Satyagraha', was first put into practice in British South Africa and later in India. Satyagraha aimed to be a peaceful mass mobilisation to record a protest on a massive scale. During such movements, people started going on hunger strikes, abandoning British-made goods, taking part in sit-ins and remaining absent from work, until their demands were met. It sounded good on paper but mostly it ended up becoming deadly. Of course, that wasn't what Mr Gandhi aimed for but it's extremely difficult to control a frustrated mob waiting to take revenge on their adversaries or masters once unleashed.

Gandhi himself was an overly religious and superstitious person. He was married off to a girl named Kasturbai when both were thirteen years old. Both had to interact with each other only at night because even looking at each other during the day was considered immoral in their family. Gandhi was from the Banya sub-branch of the Vaisya caste. In the early days of their marriage, Gandhi prevented his wife from going outside. However, after her protest, he gave up and allowed her to leave the boundaries of their home, especially with Kasturbai's mother-in-law.[1] In 1885, Gandhi's father, Karamchand, fell seriously ill.

[1] Gandhi, Daughter of Midnight, pp 16-18

In those days, Kasturbai was also pregnant with Gandhi's child as he spent most of his time nursing his father.

According to the people in their family, having sex with a pregnant woman was a sinful act, which brought bad luck. One night, Gandhi couldn't resist and returned to his bedroom at night to have sex with his wife. A few minutes later, their servant knocked on the door and informed Gandhi of his father's death. Gandhi blamed himself for 'acting like an animal, committing a sin and bringing bad luck'. According to Gandhi, his acts led to his father's demise. A few weeks later, Gandhi's first child was born, who also died after breathing for over three days. This made him more superstitious; hence, he carried the burden of 'guilt' throughout his life and wrote about it years down the road.

> "I may mention that the poor mite that was born to my wife scarcely breathed for more than three or four days… Let all those who are married be warned by my example."[2]

When the couple was in British South Africa, they argued one day because Kasturbai refused to listen to her husband, who asked her not to wash dishes used by outsiders. Gandhi lost his temper when she didn't listen and started beating his wife. He dragged her across the floor and brought her close to the main gate to throw her out. She begged him to stop because she had no one else to turn to, and would become homeless without him. According to Gandhi, this affected him greatly and prevented him from proceeding further. He stated that this 'enlightening moment' helped him witness the power of 'femininity'. Gandhi told that his wife's submissive and 'feminine nature' inspired him to use Satyagraha as his political strategy. He used this 'non-violent' strategy or 'feminine traits' to win over his adversaries.[3]

Gandhi's wife gave birth to a couple of healthy children after the death of their firstborn. As a father, Gandhi was quite strict and ultra-conservative in his views. He was strictly against cross-communal

[2] Gandhi, An Autobiography, pp 42-44
[3] Gandhi, Daughter of Midnight, p 212

marriages. He began to reject progress and technology and insisted that India's future lay in a return to simple village life, not industrialisation. He developed a distaste for life-saving drugs and surgery by calling them "black magic". He believed that doctors violated their religious values by curing diseases that people deserved because of their sinful acts. He also denounced vaccination, even if it led to smallpox.

> "To take vaccination is a dirty act, there is extreme harm in taking it. I consider taking it equivalent to eating beef. But at a time when my own children are dying one after the other and if I change my principle and announce that there is no harm in taking vaccination, what value remains in my truth? What is the meaning of my faith in God? Even if the whole Ashram is wiped out and so long as there is no evidence of substantive mistake, it is my religion to adhere to it. Who would like to lose their own children? Those parents who feel safe in getting their children vaccinated may go ahead. I will not object at all and will also make arrangements, but how can I change my belief? How is it possible for me to provide encouragement in taking of vaccination?"[4]

For him, the lawyers safeguarded the foreign constitution and were parasites. He called their profession "just as degrading as prostitution". His second son, Manilal, dreamt of either being a doctor or a lawyer. Gandhi wasn't amused by his son's direction. "I know too that you have sometimes felt that your education was being neglected," Mohandas wrote to Manilal. "[But] education does not mean a knowledge of letters but it means character building. It means knowledge of duty."[5]

Mohandas denied his eldest son, Harilal, a legal scholarship to London, which forced him to flee from home. Later, he married a

[4] A Vaccination Debate in Sabarmati Ashram, Through Mahadevbhai Desai's Diaries by The Wire

[5] Fischer, Life of Mahatma Gandhi, p. 107

woman without his father's consent, and as a punishment, he was disinherited by Gandhi. Because of no financial support and being unemployed, Harilal had nothing to feed his family. "All of us brothers have been treated as a ringmaster would treat his trained animals," Harilal wrote to his father in a lengthy letter, deploring Mohandas' treatment of his wife and sons. When Manilal tried to lend Harilal some money, Mohandas banished Manilal from his presence for a year. Now, financially crippled Manilal also started sleeping in the streets.

When eighteen years old Manilal was caught with a young and married Indian woman, Mohandas forced her into shaving her head and extracted from Manilal a vow of lifelong chastity. Later, when Manilal fell in love with a Muslim woman, Fatima, Mohandas was outraged. "Your desire is against your religion," he wrote to Manilal. "It would be like putting two swords in one scabbard… Your marriage will be a great jolt to Hindu-Muslim relations."[6] Manilal did not marry Fatima, though he was released from his vow at the age of thirty-five and married a Hindu woman.

His fourth son, Devadas, fell in love with Lakshmi, the daughter of Chakravarti Rajagopalacharia (Rajaji for short), one of the most important figures in Congress after the rise of Gandhi. Rajaji was a member of the Brahmin caste and the couple wasn't allowed to marry for five years. Gandhi wasn't strict just for his own family but wanted others to follow his principles as well. He wanted women to abandon sexual relationships because he considered them unhealthy and impure. He himself became a celibate without consulting his wife first and slept naked with his nieces 'to test his patience' as a celibate; not that, he wore much in public anyway, other than barely covering his private parts even during formal meetings.

Once, two women approached Gandhi and accused his followers of harassing them; Gandhi shaved their heads off. According to him, they aroused his men with their looks and had to be punished 'for forcing them' to commit this act. In his writings, he supported honour killings

[6] MKG to Manilal Gandhi, 3 April 1926. Cited in Gandhi, Daughter of Midnight, p. 240

as well. Gandhi believed that Indian women who were raped lost their value as human beings. He argued that fathers could be justified in killing daughters who had been sexually assaulted for the sake of family and community honour.[7]

He concluded that women should not struggle while being raped and leave a lasting impression on their rapists by remaining 'feminine' and non-violent because 'it'd make their rapists feel ashamed, and bring them towards the right path through guilt'. He also considered women impure during their menses. He claimed, "Menstruation is a manifestation of the distortion of a woman's soul by her sexuality."[8] In his work 'Hind Swaraj', published in 1908, Gandhi claimed that getting freedom from the British was only the start and his secondary objective.

Mainly, he dreamt of creating a state without progress, machinery, doctors, English language and education. He opposed interfaith marriages and non-Hindu contact. In his work, he described Western secular states as corrupt, atheistic and destructive. Gandhi was against secularism as he once declared, "No man can live without religion... Those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means."[9] He also considered the caste system as a natural order and refused to abolish it. However, he was willing to reinterpret the texts and make Outcasts a part of the Shudra community. He called it the 'Harijan Movement'. Later in his life, he changed some of his views but not all of them.

During World War 2 for example, he opposed military action against Nazi Germany and wanted the Allies to win the war through Satyagraha. "I do not believe in any war," said Gandhi. "Let them take possession of your beautiful island... Allow yourself, man, woman and child, to be slaughtered, but you will refuse to owe allegiance to them."[10] Gandhi asked the Jews to stop their struggle against Hitler and sacrifice themselves to set a great example for the future as he

[7] Women suffer from Gandhi's legacy by The Guardian
[8] Ibid
[9] Nehru, An Autobiography, pp 374, 377, 379, 380
[10] MKG cited in The Times, 4 July 1940, p 3; CWMG, vol 72, p 230. See also CWMG, vol 72, p 188

continued to glorify Hitler at the same time.

"I do not consider Herr Hitler to be as bad as he is depicted," said Gandhi while defending Hitler in 1940. "He is showing an ability that is amazing and he seems to be gaining his victories without much bloodshed."[11] He concluded that Germans "will honour Herr Hitler as a genius, a brave man, a matchless organizer and much more". Even after the discovery of concentration camps, Gandhi didn't change his views much in 1946 and stated that self-sacrifice could've produced better results.

> "Hitler killed five million Jews... It is the greatest crime of our time. But the Jews should have offered themselves to the butcher's knife. They should have thrown themselves into the sea from cliffs... As it is they succumbed anyway in their millions."[12]

Gandhi entered mainstream Indian politics after returning from British South Africa in January of 1915. During one of the gatherings, he referred to Jinnah as a member of the minority community. This was quite awkward for Jinnah because, for the first time, he felt belittled as an Indian Muslim. Hitherto, he didn't consider himself to be a mere minority or a second-class citizen but a proud Indian just like his Hindu friends. Gandhi and Jinnah had different interpretations of what it meant to be an Indian. On one occasion, Gandhi stated, "I am a Hindu first, therefore, a true Indian."[13] On another occasion, he revealed that his motives in life were "purely religious!"[14] Meanwhile, Jinnah's stance was, "I am a nationalist first, a nationalist second and nationalist last."[15] For Jinnah, religion was a matter between man and God and it had no place in politics.

Jinnah's British socialist friend, Annie Besant, co-founded the 'Home Rule League' in 1916. The goal of this organisation was to achieve Dominion status, which meant, Indians would govern their country

[11] CWMG, vol 72, p. 70; see also p. 100
[12] MKG cited in Fischer, Life of Mahatma Gandhi, p. 376
[13] Jinnah: Myth and Reality by Yasser Latif Hamdani
[14] Jinnah Papers
[15] Jinnah: Myth and Reality by Yasser Latif Hamdani, p 6.

themselves but loosely remain part of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Countries like Canada, New Zealand and South Africa already had a Dominion status back in 1916, and more countries followed in the coming years. This meant the British Empire was in the process of a slow retreat. Indians just needed a united front to achieve home rule. Jinnah wanted to reach their destination through constitutional means, while Gandhi's approach was more radical and revolved around mass mobilisation and putting pressure on the British through street power.

Jinnah was afraid of its long-term consequences as he believed that a vast majority of Indian youth were illiterate and superstitious; hence, mass mobilisation would lead to their further radicalisation and chaos in the subcontinent. But despite their political differences, Jinnah didn't feel threatened by Gandhi's rising popularity and supported him in 1920, during the Congress-Home Rule League merger. As a result, Gandhi became the President of Congress' Home Rule League. Before the merger, this position was once held by Jinnah himself.

Gandhi launched his first civil disobedience movement in British Raj, back in 1917. This encouraged radicals, who were expelled by the moderate branch of Congress in 1907, to return to Congress' main body. During these and the following years, many Congressmen also became members of Hindu Mahasabha at the same time. Throughout his political career, Gandhi called for multiple civil disobedience movements and none of them succeeded. They actually led to the deaths of countless people, the radicalisation of society and the destructive use of religion in mainstream politics.

This is something which still haunts the subcontinent today. Unfortunately, the moderates started to lose influence in Indian National Congress after the deaths of Gopal Krishna Gokhale in 1915 and Dadabhai Naoroji in 1917. Jinnah was then the only prominent and old-school constitutionalist, the moderate and classical liberal left from the Congress' bygone age. However, even he was quickly losing power when Congress undertook this new programme.

On 18 March 1919, the Imperial Legislative Council forced the Rowlatt Act into law, despite the opposition of every Indian member. The Act allowed the British rulers to arrest and detain anyone without a

warrant, trial and judicial review. Three weeks later, on 6 April, Gandhi called for a peaceful strike; however, things rarely remain peaceful when street politics gets involved. Some protesters became so incensed that the non-violent character of the strike was forgotten, and riots broke out. On 10 April 1919, two Indian leaders who had been organising the strikes were arrested.

As a consequence, there was a massive riot. Over 40,000 Gandhi followers started pillaging and burning buildings while killing five white men as well as seriously injuring two women. The curfew was declared and the next morning, Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer arrived from Jullundur to take command. During the afternoon, Dyer received reports that a meeting was taking place in Jallianwala Bagh. Dyer arrived there, and at his orders, the exits were blocked and the military opened fire on the protestors containing men, women and children. Some tried to save their lives by climbing the walls to flee the scene, while the others either died of bullet wounds, got injured or leapt down the open well, where they suffocated to death.

Around 379 people died, with over 1500 more injured. On 18 April, newspapers printed a letter from Gandhi expressing regret for the civil disobedience campaign. "I am sorry. When I embarked on a mass movement, I underrated the forces of evil," he wrote, "and I must now pause and consider how best to meet the situation."[16] Discussing the victims of Dyer's massacre, he declared that they "were definitely not heroic martyrs" and criticised them for running instead of looking the death in the eye.[17] Dyer on the other hand was never properly punished for his deeds and died a natural death several years later. Hardly anything was learned from this incident because a year later Gandhi's Satyagraha movement joined Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's Pan-Islamist 'Khilafat Movement'.

After winning the support of radical Caste Hindus, now Gandhi was after the Islamists. Khilafat Movement was launched by the ultra-conservative Sunni Muslims of India. It aimed to protect the Caliphate of

[16] CWMG, vol 15, pp. 243–245
[17] MKG cited in French, Liberty or Death, p. 20

Turkey during the British-Turkey conflict. Caliph, for the right-wing groups, was a leader of the entire Muslim nation and successor to the original caliphs of Islam. Jinnah wasn't happy with the fall of the Ottoman Empire either.

He stated that first, the British came after their lands and now they were attacking their religion. However, unlike the Khilafatists, he denounced theocracy. Jinnah was strictly against imposing religion on people by force through the State. Not to mention, the way he despised street politics; hence, he was not amused. It was also odd for the Indians to care that much about a Turkish monarchy when the Turks themselves wanted the rotten and corrupt rule of their monarch and self-proclaimed caliph to end. They wanted secular democracy in its place.

Hence, their popular leader, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, ended up abolishing the Caliphate himself and founded Modern Turkey between 1922 and 1924. This was the reason why the Khilafat Movement was already on a deathbed in 1922, just after two years of its launch. Its long-term effects, however, would haunt the subcontinent for ages to come. The movement empowered hardliners from Darul-ul-Uloom-Deoband and laid the foundation for the rise of Islamist groups such as Majlis-e-Ahrar, Khaksar Movement, Jamat-e-Islami, Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Hind and many others. Some often claim that through Khilafat Movement, Gandhi, Abul Kalam Azad and their colleagues brought both Muslims and Hindus on the same platform.

This simply implies that the Muslims only cared about theocracy, and Islam was all about puritanical Sunni forces. It completely ignores that there were educated Sunni Muslims, Shi'ites, Ismaelis, Islamic modernists and secular politicians, who had little to no interest in keeping theocracies alive. In fact, Khilafat Movement pitted one Muslim side against the other, and this rift still exists. This movement was one of the reasons why the top leadership of Islamist groups was so pro-Congress and/or anti-Jinnah. They never forgot Gandhi's 'services' and Jinnah's criticism.

Before proceeding further, it's important to observe the basic difference between a secular state and a theocratic one. The easiest definition of a theocratic state is a state where priests rule in the name

of God. Since the priests consider themselves experts on religious matters, in theocracies the State is dictated by these self-proclaimed conduits. Their will is imposed on the people in the name of religion which ends up dividing society on a religious basis. This stops people of the same country from becoming one united nation. Laws of a theocratic state are also hard, if not impossible, to amend because they are considered 'perfect' by the clergy. Hence, common people don't remain the centre of power and lose the ability to bring innovation for their welfare. Over the years, such a state becomes so corrupt that it only starts focusing on the welfare of its clergy and their associates under the garb of divine mission.

In secular states, priests stay away from state matters; hence, the elected representatives become free to amend flawed or outdated parts of the constitution and, through it, focus on actual issues of the people like unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, honour killing, child abuse, inflation, human rights etc. A secular person doesn't have to deny the existence of God and Him being the creator of the universe. He is just not insecure about his religious beliefs and refuses to misuse religion in politics to prevent religious divisions. Religion is still practised by the people in real non-theocratic or secular states, and even a religious man can get elected by the people if he's competent enough as a politician. Such states just focus on the protection of every citizen with complete impartiality and don't treat anyone as a second-class citizen.

As far as Pan-Islamist Abul Kalam Azad is concerned, he later became a member of the Congress Party. He was also the party's showpiece to prove that it was still 'secular' but he was sidelined when he tried to overstep his boundary in the 1940s. In 1920, however, he was cherished by Gandhi, who too believed in religious politics. Gandhi also invited Jinnah to take part in Khilafat Movement. Jinnah's response to this offer clarifies whether our current generation is following 'the founder of Pakistan' or his adversaries.

> "I thank you for your kind suggestion offering me 'to take my share in the new life that has opened up before the country'. If by 'new life' you mean your methods and your programme, I

> am afraid I cannot accept them, for I am fully convinced that it must lead to disaster. But the actual new life that has opened up before the country is that we are faced with a government that pays no heed to the grievances, feelings and sentiments of the people; that our own countrymen are divided; the moderate party is still going wrong; that your methods have already caused split and division in almost every institution that you have approached hitherto, and in the public life of the country not only amongst Hindus and Muslims but between Hindus and Hindus and Muslims and Muslims and even between fathers and sons; people generally are desperate all over the country and your extreme programme has for the moment struck the imagination mostly of the inexperienced youth and the ignorant and the illiterate.

All this means complete disorganisation and chaos. What the consequence of this may be, I shudder to contemplate; but I, for one, am convinced that the present policy of the government is the primary cause of it all and unless that cause is removed, the effects must continue. I have no voice or power to remove the cause, but at the same time, I do not wish my countrymen to be dragged to the brink of a precipice in order to be shattered. The only way for the nationalists is to unite and work for a programme, which is universally acceptable for the early attainment of a complete responsible government. Such a programme cannot be dictated by any single individual but must have the approval and support of all the prominent nationalist leaders in the country, and to achieve this end I am sure my colleagues and myself shall continue to work."[18]

When Jinnah repeated the same words during a conference and criticised Gandhi for organising radical marches and splitting which was once a great movement to attain home rule, he was disgraced in public by Gandhi's followers. Jinnah left the stage and decided to resign from the Indian National Congress, which was no longer the

[18] Jinnah: Myth and Reality by Yasser Latif Hamdani, p 19

party of moderates like Gokhale, Jinnah and Dadabhai. "I will have nothing to do with this pseudo-religious approach to politics," Jinnah uttered these words as he departed. "I part company with the Congress and Gandhi. I do not believe in creating mob hysteria. Politics is a gentlemen's game."[19]

During the last days of the Khilafat Movement in 1922, followers of Gandhi and the Mullahs came in contact with the Indian policemen, in Chauri Chaura town of U.P. (United Provinces). The people were already mad at the new direction of the Turkish Republic, even though it was Turkey's internal matter and not theirs. The constables attacked the demonstrators by opening fire. Once they ran out of bullets, they retreated back to the police station. The radicalised mob put the station on fire. Twenty-two policemen were burned alive and none of them made it. Gandhi called off the protests and started fasting to "purify" his soul and asked others to do the same. He stated that from now on, continuing the current movement would be like doing "Satan's work". When asked about his sudden change of heart, he stated that his "inner light" guided him to make this decision.

Jinnah, on the other hand, spent much of his political career in isolation during the 1920s. He kept serving his country through legal means and remained a staunch secular politician. In 1925, during a debate on the 'Indian Finance Bill', some tried to bring religion into the discussion, and Jinnah wasn't pleased.

> "I sir, stand here with a clear conscience and I say that I am a nationalist first, a nationalist second and nationalist last… I once more appeal to this House, whether you are a Mussalman or a Hindu, for God's sake, do not import the discussion of communal matters into this House, and degrade this Assembly which we desire should become a real National Parliament, to set an example to the outside world and our people."[20]

[19] Ibid, p 35
[20] Ibid, p 6

Chapter 4

Hindu Raj and the Congress Party

The word 'India' comes from 'Indus'. It was used by the outsiders to roughly highlight the surrounding region of the Indus river, which now flows through present-day Pakistan, from Azad Kashmir in the North to Sindh in the South, like a jugular vein. As foreigners continued to explore this region from West to East, the whole subcontinent was labelled as India, which roughly meant, 'The Land of Indus'. Historical India was different from the present-day 'Republic of India', our neighbouring sovereign state.

In 1947, the British Rule in the Subcontinent was dissolved and two new dominions, 'Dominion of Pakistan' and 'Dominion of Hindustan' emerged from it. In 1950, Hindustan adopted its new constitution which named it 'Republic of India'. However, there were also some inconsistencies in the 'Independence of India Act 1947'. This word game often confuses people who think that there was a free country named 'United India' and Pakistan regions were separated from it. Historically and constitutionally, it's inaccurate.

In the past, India was considered a region or a continent, a home to several kingdoms, which were almost always at war with one another. These kingdoms expanded and contracted with time and shaped how the Indian region as a whole looked on the world map. Even on the eve of the British conquest, India contained several states which were competing against one another. Yes, behind these states or monarchies were family dynasties but due to the caste system, religion also played a big role in shaping national identities, alliances and wars in India. There were secular leaders in every community from time to time, including Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims but these were exceptions.

A few well-paid soldiers from a minority or occupied community didn't eliminate religious tensions on the ground level or at large. Hindus and Muslims blamed each other for their poor economic conditions. They refused to use the same streets, tools and glasses of water. Then there was a caste system within the Hindu community itself. Untouchability and religious tensions were a major part of the

region's past. India was never a country ruled by one democratically elected ruler. It was home to several 'nations' and rulers. British India remained deeply divided despite being under one centre. According to Karl Marx, the very reason why the Indian subcontinent got conquered and remained under foreign rule was because of its divided society.

> "A country not only divided between Mohammedan and Hindu but between tribe and tribe, between caste and caste; a society whose framework was based on a sort of equilibrium, resulting from a general repulsion and constitutional exclusiveness between all its members. Such a country and such a society, were they not the predestined prey of conquest?" [1]

When the British were about to leave, there were still over 500 Princely States in India. In short: First, there was historical India, the subcontinent region with several kingdoms; then came British Raj; and finally its two successor states in the subcontinent, Dominion of Pakistan and Dominion of Hindustan/India, which later became Republics after adopting the new constitutions in 1956 and 1950 respectively.

As far as religious identities are concerned, Hindu nationalism was inspired by the Aryan Race Theory and it started plaguing Indian National Congress in the early 1900s. There are two versions of the Aryan Race Theory embraced by Hindu nationalists. The first version, Aryan Migration/Invasion Theory, claims that the Aryan race lived in Euroasian Steppe and migrated to Ancient India/Bharat, which supposedly existed even before historical India. The second one, the Out of India Theory, claims that life, as we know it today, began in Ancient Bharat, and then scientifically advanced people of this region migrated to Europe countless years ago. According to this theory, the Europeans are actually the descendants of ancient Indians, and by Indians, they mean the Hindus. So, for them, being a Hindu is not just about religion but also about being a descendant of the Aryan race. A similar racial supremacist ideology was also adopted by the Nazis.

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[1] Karl Marx, 'The Future Results of the British Rule in India', 22 July 1853. Marx & Engels, The First Indian War of Independence, p. 26

These ideas were redefined by Brahminical politicians, intellectuals, poets, writers and philosophers in the 19th century. Rajnarayan Basu and Nabagopal Mitra were two such people. In his writings, Basu described how foreign cultures shall be replaced step by step with the Hindu culture to set the stage for an Aryan State or a Hindu Raj.[2] This was a long-term goal of the National Promotion Society founded by Nabagopal Mitra in 1867. Here, they used the word 'National' for 'Hindu culture and civilization'.

According to the National Promotion Society's manifesto, it shall establish gymnasiums to make the youth physically strong; revive ancient Hindu music and medical science through research institutes; publish the research of European scholars on ancient Indian traditions and cultivate the Sanskrit language; using this language as mother tongue shall be necessary; no reform shall be accepted if it didn't emerge out of Hindu nation; and only leaders shall decide which reform to implement, while the society shall only propagate reform movement by inciting national feelings.

As a result, they did publish a journal called National Paper, and established a National Gymnasium, National School and National Society. To promote their ideas, the organisers of Mitra's Hindu Mela used to arrange a yearly conference in the month of Chaitra (March-April). The name of the organisation was 'Hindu Mela', but its executive committee was called 'National Society'. This was not an inconsistency but intentional, and the organisers made it clear when asked about it.

> "We do not understand why our correspondent takes exception to the Hindus who certainly form a nation by themselves, and as much a society established by them can very properly be called a National Society."[3]

Hence, they classified the Hindus as a nation, and it was made clear that the Muslims were not part of this nation or the Indian region as a whole. In 1872, Mitra claimed, "Hindus are a nation… The basis of

[2] The World's Eternal Religion by Bharat Dharma Mahamandal
[3] Dutta, Amar. 2007. Unish Sataker Seshardhe Bangladeshe Hindu Jatiyotabad. p 12

national unity in India is the Hindu religion. Hindu nationality embraces all the Hindus of India irrespective of their locality and language."[4]

The Brahma Marriage Act was also enacted in the same year. According to the Act, marriage before fourteen for the girls and eighteen for the boys shall be prohibited. Nabagopal Mitra and Rajnarayan Basu opposed this act and organised a protest seminar in reaction. At his seminar, Rajnarayan Basu spoke on the superiority of Hinduism. In his speech, he reminded people why the Brahminical Order was a 'superior' form of Hinduism and a better way of living than the other faiths. In the 1880s, Basu wrote 'Old Hindu's Hope'. In this book, he noted that except for Islam and Christianity, the followers of all other religions belonged to the Hindu religion; hence, all of these communities should come together to form an organisation by the name of Maha Hindu Samiti.

He also helped in the creation of Bharat Dharma Mahamandala in 1887. This organisation was the predecessor of Hindu Mahasabha, a dangerous communal organisation of Caste Hindu fanatics, which later became an unofficial militant wing of Indian National Congress. Basu believed that through this organisation, Hindus would be able to establish an Aryan nation in the subcontinent. He envisioned a powerful Hindu nation that would first dominate the subcontinent and later the whole world. "There is no such good admonition regarding religion which is absent in our religious scriptures; there is no such positive ritual which was not being practised in ancient India. At present, it is our task to propagate these Hindu ideas and practices," Basu said.[5]

> "The noble and puissant Hindu nation is rousing herself after sleep and rushing headlong towards progress with divine prowess. I see this rejuvenated nation again illumining the world by her knowledge, spirituality and culture, and the glory of Hindu nation again spreading over the whole world."[6]

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[4] Three Phases of India's Struggle for Freedom by R.C. Majumdar. p 18
[5] Basu, Rajnarayan. 2008. Sekal ar Ekal. p 60
[6] Islam, Shamsul. 2015. Hindu Nationalism and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangha. p 155

Ironically, Basu himself wasn't from the Brahmin caste. He supported Brahminism, despite being humiliated by the actual Brahmins on some occasions. There were other similar characters in the 19th century, apart from Basu and Mitra. Sasadhar Tarkachuramoni and Nabinchandra Sen were also playing their role at the same time. The former co-founded an organisation called Arya Dharma Pracharini Sabha in Munger of Bihar. The organisation's name roughly translates into 'Association for the Propagation of Aryan Religion'. In Calcutta, he used to provide 'scientific' justification for Hindu rituals, customs and superstitions. He propagated his ultra-conservative views through his journal, 'Vedavayas'.

He also took the initiative to establish Hari Sabhas in several cities and villages. Its job was to propagate the glory and superiority of the Hindu religion. Many started calling him the second Sankaracharya due to his interpretation of Hinduism. Sankaracharya is believed to be a Vedic scholar of 'ancient India' from countless centuries ago, when, supposedly, the Aryan or Hindu race ruled the entire region of "Mother India". Under Sasadhar's influence, Chandranath Basu became a staunch supporter of Hindu upheaval. Chandranath is considered to be the one who coined the term 'Hindutva'. He tried his utmost to have Caste Hindu domination in the subcontinent. He was also against female education and supported child marriages.

Then there was Bankimchandra Chattopadhya, who propagated Hindu nationalism through his novels. Aurobindo Ghosh, another important figure in the Hindu upheaval movement, praised Bankim's work while writing, "Of the new spirit which is leading the nation to resurgence and independence, Bankim is the inspirer and political guru."[7] Bankim concluded that religion and politics couldn't be separated, and due to his preaching, the slogan of "Hindu India" became the mantra of the Hindu nationalists from the Brahmin caste.

He wrote fourteen novels. Muslim characters in these novels are portrayed as cruel, perverted, power-hungry, unkind, dishonest and conservative, while the Hindu characters are honest, brave, kind and

[7] Ibid p 156

intelligent. Bankim supported and glorified the ritual of burning widows alive along with their dead husbands, but at the same time, in one of his novels, a character asks, "Do Muslims kill boys?" The maidservant answers, "Whom do they not kill? They eat beef and perform namaz. What do they do other than killing the boys?" So just like other Hindu nationalists, one can see hypocrisy and inconsistencies in Bankim's writings as well.

Some of his famous works are 'Mrinalini' (1869), 'Chandrashekhar' (1875), 'Rajsingha' (1893), and 'Sitaram' (1894), and all of them are filled with hatred against the Muslims of India. Other than these, Bankim's most popular work is 'Anandamath' from 1882, which many Hindu nationalists still treat as a Holy Book. The concept of the Hindutva State first appeared in the said novel. This was the same novel in which Bankim presented the song 'Vande Mataram' which equated nationalism to mother worship. Bankim wanted British rule to remain for a while because he thought it was a good replacement for the time being compared to Muslim rule. He stated that through the British education system, Hindus would become more enlightened, rediscover their past glory and rise once more without any resistance from Muslim rule.

In one of his books, a Caste Hindu leader states, "We do not want a kingdom, we want only to destroy Mussalmans because they are hostile to the god." One more desire of the main characters in the book was to construct the temple of Radhamadhav on the ruins of a Masjid. Bankim's dream was partly realised with the destruction of the Babri Mosque on 6 December 1992 and the recent verdict of Hindustani courts, which favoured Hindu nationalists who want to build a temple in its place. In the last chapter of the first volume of Bankim's book 'Anandamath', Caste Hindus are reminded, "Religion, caste, status, class etc have been lost due to Muslim rule; now we are going to lose our right to life. So, in order to keep Hinduness, we have to throw out these conflict-addicted Mussalmans."

For him, to protect 'Hinduness', it was necessary to unite and kill the Muslims, as evident from his several other writings as well. In one of his articles he stated, "I am a Hindu, you are a Hindu… there are millions of Hindus… It is the duty of all Hindus to think and work and

assemble together. This is the first part of the making of a nation."[8] Then he went a step further.

> "Apart from the Hindu nation, there are other nations in the world. Their well-being does not ensure our well-being. Sometimes their well-being is harmful to us… [So,] if it is required to torture them, we would do that. We would damage others for the sake of our interests. This is the second part of nation-making process."[9]

After Bankim, Swami Vivekananda was another Hindu nationalist who propagated similar thoughts. In 1898, Vivekananda was asked a question about the motive of his movement in an interview. He replied, "To find the common basis of Hinduism and awaken the national consciousness in them (the Hindus)." For him, the Hindu religion was the backbone of Indian national life. Since, according to him, this religion was superior to all, its teachings should be taught to the world. To make Hindus 'conscious', Vivekananda repeatedly called on Hindus, "If religion is given up, the backbone of Hindu nation would be broken. The great national monument was built upon that foundation which would be broken down; consequently, all would be destroyed."[10]

According to him, Hinduism and the Hindu race were in danger. So, the solution was badly needed. He said that Hindus were in deep crisis on account of their destiny and there was only one way to escape from the crisis and that was to go to the West for the propagation of the Hindu religion, and then clarify their position through the newly created influence over them. He had done that practically himself at the 'Parliament of the World's Religions' conference held in Chicago, in the September of 1893.

There, he used the words 'Nation' and 'Religion' interchangeably to define Hindus and called Hinduism "the mother of all religions".

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[8] Article 'Bharat Kalanka' by Bankimchandra Chattopadhya
[9] R. S. (Bankim Rachana Samagra). 1973. Pratham o Dwitiya Khanda. v 1 p 301
[10] Bani o Rachana by Swami Vivekananda v 5 p 34

While he argued that all religions were heading in the same direction to seek the truth, he couldn't help but tell the people about the 'superiority of the Hindu religion' at the same time, and how 'scientifically accurate' it really was. One can't help but think about the present-day policies of ultra-conservative BJP-led Hindustan, and the way BJP propagandists distort history, air fake news and lie about their neighbouring sovereign states locally and in the West to change public opinion.

Their ways are a lot similar to the methods of Vivekananda. Glorification of Caste Hindu fanatics and demonisation of 'adversaries', as a path to world domination, is most probably treated as a religious duty amongst those who share his thoughts. More than a century ago, Vivekananda had taught them that human society came from the Brahmins the way a carpet gets unrolled; and one day it'd roll back and everything will return to the starting point when the world was dominated by the Brahmins exclusively.

> "Let me take this opportunity, my countrymen, of telling you… that our people are… the most normal and the most godly, and our institutions are… best suited to make mankind happy. I do not, therefore, want any reformation. My ideal is growth, expansion, and development on national lines. As I look back upon the history of my country, I do not find in the whole world another country, which has done quite so much for the improvement of the human mind."[11]

He continued:

"The ideal man of our ancestors was the Brahmin… We read in the Satya Yuga that there was only one caste, and that was the Brahmin. We read in the Mahabharata that the whole world was in the beginning peopled with Brahmins, and that as they began to degenerate, they became divided into different castes, and that when the cycle turns around, they

[11] The Complete Works by Swami Vivekananda v 3 p 195

will all go back to that Brahminical origin… Therefore, our solution of the caste question is not degrading those who are already high up... The command is… that you (Shudras and Outcastes) must make progress without stopping, and that from the highest man to the lowest Pariah, everyone in this country, has to try and become the ideal of Brahmin."[12]

He dreamt of world domination and claimed that the other cultures stole Caste Hindu history and turned it into their own.

> "Here [in India] is the self-same old Shiva seated as before, the bloody Mother Kali worshipped with the self-same paraphernalia, the pastoral Shepherd of Love, Shri Krishna, playing on his flute. Once, this old Shiva, riding on his bull and labouring on this Damaru travelled from India on the one side to Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, Australia, as far as the shores of America, and on the other side, this old Shiva battened his bull in Tibet, China, Japan, and as far up as Siberia, and is still doing the same. The Mother Kali is still exacting her worship even in China and Japan. It is she whom the Christians metamorphosed into the Virgin Mary, and worship as the mother of Jesus, the Christ."[13]

He wanted to see India as a country of Hindus exclusively. Precisely he uttered that if a person wanted to live in India, either he had to be a Hindu or had to accept Hindu domination. If someone objected to this programme, then he had to leave. The same attitude was adopted by some of the prominent leaders of the Indian National Congress later on. Vivekananda once stated, "If you cannot bear them (our gods), then leave!... Why don't you make your way somewhere else where you may find a field to graze upon freely – the wide world is open to you!" Vivekananda claimed that Muslims brought swords, bloodshed and violence into India but then defended the caste system at the same time, which led to the most brutal treatment of those people who together formed a majority in India; so, there were inconsistencies and hypocrisy in his work as well.

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[12] Ibid p 196-198

[13] Bani o Rachana by Swami Vivekananda v 5 p 445

> "Caste is a natural order… Caste is good. That is the only national way of solving life. Men must form themselves into groups, and you cannot get rid of that. Wherever you go, there will be caste."[14]

This Hindu nationalism took a concrete shape when the concept of religious upheaval was amalgamated with political interests after 1905. At the beginning of this new phase, Aurobindo Ghose played a very significant role. His written work clearly states that Brahmin theocracy was the only solution and there could be no Indian nationalism without Hinduism (aka Sanatana Dharma).

> "Our movement for the national resurgence is not political, it is spiritual and religious. Our nationalism is not mere politics; it is an article of faith, it is worship. Sanatana Dharma is our nationalism. Hindu Rashtra was born along with Sanatana Dharma. The two are indivisible; their direction and development are identical. When Sanatana Dharma declines, the nation also declines. If there is any possibility of Sanatana Dharma ever dying, Hindu Rashtra will also die with it. Let me reiterate this openly: Sanatana Dharma is our nationhood. This is the mantra God has given me."[15]

RSS was founded in 1925 and one of its early leaders, M.S. Golwalker, adopted similar views and even went a step further.

> "The foreign races (non-Hindus) in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of the glorification of the Hindu race and culture… or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges… not even citizen's rights."[16]

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[14] Ibid v 3 p 245
[15] Hindu Nationalism and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangha by Shamsul Islam p 163
[16] We or Our Nationhood Defined by M.S. Golwalker

On one occasion, he advised, "Hindus, don't waste your energy fighting the British. Save it to fight our internal enemies that are Muslims, Christians and Communists."[17] While in the 1940s, he uttered:

> "To keep up with the purity of the race and its culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of the Semitic races, the Jews. Race pride at its highest has been manifested here. It shows how impossible it is for races and cultures, having differences going to the root, to be assimilated into one united whole, a good lesson for us in Hindustan to learn and profit by."[18]

In his book 'Bunch of Thoughts', he wrote, "If you see an English officer along with his Brahmin servant, you can shake hand with the Englishman, but you should fall at the feet of his Brahmin servant to show respect because he is a great soul by birth."

Veer Savarkar is amongst the most popular Hindu nationalists. He was amongst the co-founders of Hindu Mahasabha. After the Hindi-Urdu controversy, he concluded, "I am now fully convinced that the Hindus and the Muslims, as their religion and way of life was quite distinct from one another, could never become one nation."[19] Savarkar was an atheist but saw Hindus as a race, and a superior one at that. In 1937, at Zee Jaipur Literature Festival, he continued his propagation.

> "Hindustan must be looked upon both as fatherland and holy land. Muslims and Christians cannot be incorporated into Hindutva because their holy land is far off, like Arabia or Palestine. Their names and outlook smack of a foreign origin. Their love is divided."[20]

Ghadar Party focused on getting freedom from British rule. It was founded by self-proclaimed atheists and non-religious people. They too

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[17] Bunch of Thoughts by M.S. Golwalker
[18] Ibid
[19] Why I am Hindu by Sashi Tharoor
[20] Ibid

saw Hindus as a separate race and Hinduism as a different culture, philosophy and way of life. Even though their policies prevented priests from joining their party, their hatred for non-Hindus was still fully displayed.[21] They were 'Hindu-Atheists' of their time. A Punjabi politician, Lal Har Dayal, was one of the co-founders of the party. In 1925, he addressed his people, "The future of the Hindu race and Hindustan rests on these four pillars: Hindu Sangathan; Hindu Raj; Forced conversion of Muslims; and Conquest and forced conversion of Afghanistan and the frontiers."[22]

In 1923, B.S. Moonje, a former Indian National Congress leader, who later joined Hindu Mahasabha and mentored RSS' founder K.B. Hedgewar, told a gathering in Oudh:

> "Just as England belongs to the English, France to the French, and Germany to the Germans, India belongs to the Hindus. If Hindus get organised, they can humble the English and their stooges, the Muslims. The Hindus henceforth can create their own world which will prosper through forced conversion of Muslims and Christians."[23]

Bhai Parmanand, who had stayed with Gandhi in British South Africa in 1905 as a Vedic missionary, was considered a prominent Hindu and Arya Samaj leader of Punjab in the British Raj. He was a member of Congress and later also joined Hindu Mahasabha. He gave the idea of separate sovereign states for Hindus and Muslims in 1904 and endorsed them again in 1909.[24]

> "The territory beyond Sindh could be united with North-West Frontier Province into a great Mussalman Kingdom. The Hindus of the region should come away, while at the same

[21] Ghadar Party's Manifesto
[22] BR. Ambedkar: Pakistan or the Partition of India (Maharashtra Government, 1990) p.129
[23] JS. Dhanki: Lala Lajpat Rai and Indian Nationalism (S Publications, 1990). p.378
[24] Jinnah Papers

> time, the Mussalmans in the rest of the country should go and settle in this territory."[25]

Parmanand continued to repeat this demand in the coming years. In 1912, he wrote that the Muslims of India should have their own homeland, and in 1923, he once again favoured the idea of creating a Muslim homeland across the Indus river. He also thought that the solution lay in either the Hindus assimilating the entire Muslim population of the subcontinent or being eventually assimilated by the 'alien' Muslim intruders. "It struck me a long time ago that the only satisfactory avenue to unity is to effect complete severance between the two peoples," said Parmanand. "India could be partitioned in such a manner as to secure the supremacy of Islam in one zone and that of Hindustan in the other."[26]

Similar proposals, as well as the partition of Punjab and Bengal on communal lines, were also put forward by Pandit Nanak Chand in 1934. However, the most detailed partition plan with far-reaching consequences was the brainchild of a Punjabi Brahmin, Lala Lajpat Rai, who then was a member of Congress and Hindu Mahasabha at the same time. Apart from Veer Savarkar, he too was a co-founder of Hindu Mahasabha, which became operational in 1915. Even in the 1940s, meetings between Congress and Hindu Mahasabha leaders and pacts between them were well-known.[27] In 1924, its co-founder, Lala Lajpat Rai, wrote a letter to C.R. Das. The letter was full of fear-mongering.

> "There is one point more which has been troubling me very much of late and one which I want you to think carefully and that is the question of Hindu-Muslim unity. I have devoted most of my time during the last six months to the study of Muslim history and Muslim law, and I am inclined to think, it

[25] Guilty Men of the Two-nation theory by South Asia Journal
[26] Jinnah Papers
[27] 28th June 1941. Khwaja Nazimuddin to M.A. Jinnah. Jinnah Papers v 16, pp 600-601

> (the unity) is neither possible nor practicable... I am not afraid of seven crores [of Muslims] in Hindustan but I think the seven crores of Hindustan plus the armed hosts of Afghanistan, Central Asia, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Turkey will be irresistible... I am fully prepared to trust the Muslim leaders, but what about the injunctions of the Quran and Hadis? The leaders cannot override them. Are we then doomed?"

People like Lala Lajpat Rai and other Congress leaders were already seeing the partition of well-established states/provinces like Punjab and Bengal, as well as a separate, independent and sovereign state for the Muslims as a lesser evil compared to 'tolerating' Muslims in the centre of inevitable free subcontinent, or "free India" as they called it. Rai presented a partition scheme in his 'The Tribune' article on 14 December 1924.

> "Punjab should be partitioned into two provinces, Western Punjab with a large Muslim majority to be Muslim governed province, and Eastern Punjab with a large Hindu-Sikh majority to be non-Muslim governed province… Under my scheme, the Muslims will have four states: Pathan province... Western Punjab, Sindh and Eastern Bengal... But it should be distinctly understood that this is not United India. It means clear partition of India into Muslim India and a non-Muslim India."

This was six years before Dr Allama Muhammad Iqbal demanded autonomy for Muslim provinces of the North-Western region in Allahabad, to safeguard the interests of the Muslims of British India, and also to use those regions as a wall against future invaders to protect Hindus of the remaining parts of India. Unfortunately, his words are misquoted, and he is falsely labelled as someone who 'dreamt' of a separate state for the Muslims on religious lines. However, even if that was true, his demand would've been sane at that stage, considering what the fanatics on the other side were up to.

Chapter 5

Hindu-Muslim Disunity

British India had two regions: Muslim India and Hindu India. The former had Muslims in the majority, while the latter contained a Hindu majority. Jinnah wanted to uplift minorities in both regions and bring them to the level of their majorities. So, his Lucknow Pact tried to uplift Hindus in Muslim regions, and Muslims in Hindu areas through a weightage system. This was something which he tried frequently in the future, in different forms. After his departure from Congress, things started going downhill. In the 1920s, Jinnah spent most of his time without strong allies. He was doing his job as a liberal politician and a barrister on his own. When not at his workplace, he spent his time in his study room.

He often consumed alcohol in moderation at home to calm his nerves. Ruttie and Jinnah's marriage deteriorated because the latter was swamped with work and couldn't find enough time for his young and beautiful wife. During this period, Ruttie isolated herself from the family and started suffering from depression and a terminal illness. She died on the 20th of February 1929, literally on the same day she was born twenty-nine years ago. Jinnah rarely showed emotions in public but he broke down in tears when his wife was being buried. Despite inconsistencies in their marriage life, Jinnah remained faithful to her and never married again.

In 1928, Simon Commission's delegation was sent to British India. This was a group of seven Members of parliament under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon. They were to study constitutional reform in Britain's largest and most important possession. The Commission was strongly opposed by Motilal, Gandhi, Nehru and Jinnah alike because it contained seven members of the British parliament but no Indians. This blunder from the British government could've united both the Muslims and the Hindus once more but things took a turn for the worse instead.

As Jinnah was spending his days with his dying wife in Paris, in 1928, Motilal Nehru, then the President of the Indian National Congress, tabled

Nehru Report to nullify Simon Commission. This report demanded the dominion status for India but later changed it to the republic status. Separate electorates were refused and the demands for reservation of seats for the Muslims of Bengal and Punjab were also rejected. In this report, not a single demand of the Muslim League was upheld.

This was a violation of the Lucknow Pact which was still keeping both communities together to an extent, even after the Khilafat Movement's disastrous results. Some pro-Congress political scientists claim that Jinnah himself was thinking about abandoning Lucknow Pact but fail to produce an official resolution or public statement endorsed by Jinnah to prove that. There is also no evidence of Jinnah telling the Congress leadership that he aimed to 'abandon' the pact. As far as Congress was concerned, they were making these decisions behind Jinnah's back and without officially consulting other parties.

Jinnah tried to salvage something through his fourteen points when he returned to British Raj. He wanted to keep some semblance of Hindu-Muslim unity alive.

1. The form of the future constitution should be federal, with the residuary powers vested in the provinces.
2. All provinces should be given equal autonomy.
3. All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even equality.
4. In the Central Legislature, Muslim representation shall not be less than one-third.
5. Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of the separate electorate at present, it shall be open to any community, at any time, to abandon its separate electorate in favour of a joint electorate.
6. Any territorial distribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in Punjab, Bengal and NWFP provinces.
7. Full religious liberty shall be guaranteed to all communities.

8. No bill or resolution shall be passed in any legislature if three-fourths of the members of any community in that body oppose the bill.
9. Sindh should be separated from Bombay to form an autonomous province.
10. Reforms should be introduced in the NWFP and Balochistan on the same footing as in the other provinces.
11. Muslims should be given an adequate share in all services, having due regard to the requirement of efficiency.
12. The Constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture, education, language, religion and personal laws, as well as for Muslim charitable institutions.
13. One-third representation shall be given to Muslims in both central and provincial cabinets.
14. No change shall be made in the constitution without the consent of the provinces.

Motilal Nehru's son, Jawaharlal Nehru, called Jinnah's fourteen points "ridiculous" as Congress adopted Nehru Report and rejected Jinnah's proposal. This polarised Indian society further. Even demand for a republic status was now seen as a shady move, an attempt made by the Caste Hindu leadership to seize the centre as soon as possible which was going to put Muslims at disadvantage because of being in minority.

Certain sections of the Muslim community thought that they would be completely ignored in British absence if the Congress Party was already being this arrogant and ignorant in their presence. This started a slow shift of the Muslim elites towards the British rulers as an alternative because they thought that Congress would maintain its current behaviour in the future. During this whole episode in the late 1920s, riots were also taking place in various parts of British India. They intensified further when the protests against Simon Commission started. Hindu Mahasabha's co-founder, Lala Lajpat Rai, also led a protest in Lahore, where he suffered a police beating and died of his injuries.

On 29 December 1930, Allama Muhammad Iqbal addressed the 25th session of the All-India Muslim League, though not many people

attended that session. In it, Iqbal called for a grouping of North-Western Muslim states, so they could be turned into a single large, well-organized and autonomous unit/state under the same British Indian centre.

> "I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India… Nor should the Hindus fear that the creation of autonomous Muslim states will mean the introduction of… religious rule in such states."

Interestingly, Iqbal didn't mention the Eastern Zones of British India, which also contained a Muslim majority. On the other hand, some misinterpreted Iqbal's proposal, so he had to clarify it again in his 'The Times' article titled 'Moslem Province'.

> "May I tell Dr Thompson (editor of the Times) that in this passage I do not put forward a 'demand' for a Moslem State outside of the British Empire, but only a guess at the possible outcome in the dim future of the mighty forces now shaping the destiny of the Indian subcontinent. No Indian Moslem with any pretence of sanity contemplates a Moslem State or series of States in North-West India outside the British Commonwealth of Nations as a plan of practical politics.
>
> Although I would oppose the creation of another cockpit of communal strife in the Central Punjab, as suggested by some enthusiasts, I am all for a redistribution of India into provinces with effective majorities of one community or another on lines advocated both by the Nehru and the Simon Reports. Indeed, my suggestion regarding Moslem provinces merely carries forward this idea. A series of contented and well-organised

> Moslem provinces on the North-West Frontier of India would be the bulwark of India and the British Empire against the hungry generation of the Asiatic highlands."

As far as Jinnah was concerned, when his fourteen points were rejected, he took his daughter (Dina) and sister (Fatima) and left Indian politics for good and departed for England, where he lived for a couple of years in a self-styled exile. Jinnah was already suffering from the early stages of tuberculosis when he left Bombay, a city known for its dry winters. On the other hand, the whole Simon Commission fiasco led to the Round Table Conferences (1930-1932). They were conducted as per the recommendation of Jinnah to his two friends: Viceroy Irwin and Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald. Demands for Swaraj or self-rule in India were growing increasingly strong.

B.R. Ambedkar, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan, K.T. Paul and Mirabehn were key participants from India in Round Table talks. Ramsey MacDonald had assured Jinnah that he was committed to bringing dominion status to India, but his Labour Party started losing influence due to the economic crash of 1928, which also made Nazis a powerful force in Germany. Hindu nationalists during this age took a lot of inspiration from Nazi Germany's treatment of other so-called inferior races. In the case of Hindu nationalists, these 'inferior races' were non-Hindus, including the Muslims.

In 1933, a man from Punjab, Chaudhry Rahmat Ali, who was studying law at the University of Cambridge, came up with Pakistan Scheme. It was a call for a separate dominion of Muslim-majority provinces connected to the British Empire and not in connection with the Hindu-majority areas, which were to become a second dominion. According to Rehmat Ali:

> "Pakistan is both a Persian and Urdu word. It is composed of letters taken from the names of all of our homelands – 'Indian' and 'Asian.' That is Punjab, Afghania (North-West Frontier Province), Kashmir, Iran, Sindh (including Kutch and

> Kathiawar), Turkharistan, Afghanistan and Balochistan. It means the land of the Paks – the spiritually pure and clean. It symbolizes the religious beliefs and ethnic stocks of our people; and it stands for all territorial constituents of our original Fatherland."[1]

One needs to remember that this original scheme didn't mention the North-Eastern zones of India, including Bengal. Rahmat Ali and his friends went to Jinnah with this scheme not so long after it was first drafted. Jinnah, however, completely refused to take part in their movement. Later, Rahmat Ali expanded on this formula and also added some states from Hindu-majority areas in it and envisioned a Muslim empire by the name of Pakistan Commonwealth of Nations. This Empire now also included several new regions which were absent in the previous version, including the Bengal region. This too was rejected.

Back to Allama Iqbal, on the 4th of March 1934, he once again had to clarify his Allahabad address and his views on Pakistan Scheme through a letter to Edward Thompson.

> "My Dear Mr Thompson, I just received your review of my book. It is excellent and I am grateful to you for the very kind things you have said of me. But you have made one mistake which I hasten to point out as I consider it rather serious. You call me a protagonist of the scheme called 'Pakistan'. Now Pakistan is not my scheme. The one that I suggested in my address is the creation of a Muslim Province -ie.; a province having an overwhelming population of Muslims in the North-West of India.
>
> This new province will be, according to my scheme, a part of the proposed Indian Federation. Pakistan scheme proposes a separate federation of Muslim Provinces directly related to England as a separate dominion. This scheme originated in

[1] From Jinnah to Zia by Justice Muhammad Munir

> Cambridge. The authors of this scheme believe that we Muslim Round Tablers have sacrificed the Muslim nation on the altar of Hindu or the so-called Indian Nationalism."

In the early 1930s, Jinnah tried to enter English politics by joining liberals and later trying his luck with the conservatives. In both cases, he was stopped from entering politics as he was seen as a 'troublemaker' amongst several English politicians. Because of this very reason, the British had tried to deport him from British India before but the only thing that stopped them was his popularity amongst the working class and, ironically, the end result of Gandhi's agitations, which kept the British occupied elsewhere temporarily. After being shown the door by the British politicians, Jinnah focused on his career as a barrister exclusively. While he was living in England, he bought a book on Kemal Ataturk by the name of The Grey Wolf, written by H.C. Armstrong. He became obsessed with Ataturk's secularisation of Turkey, even though Ataturk's methods and interpretation of secularism were different from those of Jinnah. The book reignited his passion for Indian politics to an extent but he still needed one more push to return to British Raj.[2]

Liaquat Ali Khan often visited Jinnah at his place and asked him to return to India and revive All-India Muslim League under his leadership. Fatima didn't like Liaquat, maybe because he was one of the reasons why Jinnah had to leave his peaceful life in England and return to the dirty politics of British India. During his visits, Liaquat introduced his new wife, Ra'ana Liaquat to the Jinnah family. She was an emancipated woman and despite Liaquat's unintentional blunders later on, as the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, his wife became one of the faces of second-wave feminism in Pakistan. Liaquat and Ra'ana were both secular but they were placed in a complicated position after Jinnah's death in 1948; this forced Liaquat to make some compromises on principles on which independent, separate and sovereign Pakistan was founded.

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[2] Jinnah of Pakistan by Stanely Wolper, p 130

Apart from Liaquat, the Ahmadiyya community also played a vital role in convincing Jinnah to return to Indian politics. This included letters from different influential leaders who followed the Ahmadi school of thought as well as their personal interactions with Jinnah. Abdur Rahim Dar, imam of Al Fazl Mosque in London met Jinnah, after being guided by the caliph of the Ahmadiyya community, who asked him to return to Indian politics. The Jinnah family departed for British Raj in 1935, so Jinnah could organise the Muslims as well as cooperative non-Muslims to revive Muslim League under his presidency.

Round Table Conferences, on the other hand, led to the 'Government of India Act 1935'. However, it would take two more years to get implemented in its entirety. The Act disappointed many, as there were still no signs of independence from British rule. Some, however, praised it for giving provinces more autonomy and letting them have their own ministries. Section 93 gave governors and viceroys the power to dismiss governments along with their legislatures, when necessary.

This outraged many but they had no choice but to accept the Act for what it offered for the time being. Other than provincial autonomy, direct elections were also introduced, thus increasing the franchise from seven million to thirty-five million people. Sindh was separated from Bombay's presidency; 'Bihar-and-Orissa' was split into separate autonomous states, 'Bihar' and 'Orissa'; Burma was completely excluded from the Indian map; and Aden was also detached from the Indian region. It was then established as a separate crown colony. Membership of the provincial assemblies was altered to include any number of elected Indian representatives, who were now able to form majorities and be appointed to form governments. Federal Court was also established.

British India now had eleven provinces, also known as autonomous states, with their own Prime Ministers. Five of these were Muslim states and they were in the North-West and North-Eastern territories of British India, known as 'Muslim India'. These states included Punjab, NWFP, Sindh, Assam and Bengal. The remaining six states were considered Hindu states and were part of the 'Hindu India' territory located between

two regions of Muslim India. Hindu India consisted of Bombay, Madras, Bihar, Central Provinces, Orissa and United Provinces.

United Provinces had a huge chunk of the Muslim population which made the solution to Hindu-Muslim disunity more complicated. A simple separation of Hindu India and Muslim India was not going to work, as it would've trapped millions of Muslims in Hindu India without safeguards. So, if Jinnah was to safeguard Muslims, he had to think about a solution on an all-India level and not a solution that was only limited to Muslim India. On the other hand, he also wanted to safeguard Hindus and other minorities in Muslim-majority areas. This was the reason why he tried the weightage system in the Lucknow Pact to bring minorities to the level of majorities in both territories. His ignored fourteen points had some elements of the Lucknow Pact as well. Now, he had to think of something similar but more ambitious if nothing else worked.

General elections took place in 1937. Before these elections, Jinnah tried to bring all Muslim groups on the same platform; this included leftists, liberals, conservatives and ultra-conservatives. However, all of them had to accept Jinnah's programme. According to Jinnah, there was no place for sectarianism and Muslims had to stand united as one unit. This didn't bring him much luck because many demanded the expulsion of Ahmadis from the Muslim League. Jinnah refused to compromise on his principles and as a result, ultra-conservative groups like Khaksar Movement, Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Hind and Majlis-e-Ahrar joined Congress' camp.

They already had a soft corner for Gandhi because he supported Khilafat Movement almost two decades ago, while Jinnah opposed it. In the future, Jinnah would approach members of these groups again for a potential alliance but because of their religious and political differences, it never worked. The most hostile of these groups were the Khaksars and Majlis-e-Ahrar. The latter was also an anti-Shia group that refused to work with Jinnah because of his sect. This group's ideology later emerged under new names and leaders. Today, they are known as Sipah-e-Sahaba, a banned terrorist outfit.

In 1937, Congress was led by its new President, Jawaharlal Nehru. His father, Motilal Nehru, died in 1931. In the early 1930s, during Salt March, Gandhi told people that Nehru shall be the future of the Congress Party. Nehru was from a Kashmiri Brahmin family. His father, Motilal Nehru, was known for losing his temper. As a kid, Nehru was abused by his father over petty issues. Sometimes, after taking a beating, he used to visit his mother, who took care of him and patched his wounds.[3] Motilal was an atheist, while his wife, Swarup Rani Nehru, was religious and spiritual.

She was a kind-hearted and effervescent person, unlike Motilal Nehru, who was brutal in his methods. Ironically, Nehru adopted traits of his father while growing up and abandoned the features of his mother who was always there for him. Nehru considered spirituality and religion a "woman's tool".[4] On the political front, he became emotionless when it came to decision-making. Nehru followed Gandhi, the same as many other young folks did. He agreed with his methods, and even took beatings and spent several years in prison because of following Gandhi in his civil disobedience movements. However, Nehru disagreed with Gandhi's religious views and claimed that religion scared him. In prison, Nehru often screamed in his sleep due to his injuries and thoughts about the condition of his people under British rule. His screams made it difficult for his inmates to rest at night.

Interestingly, religion wasn't the only thing that scared Nehru. He was also scared of himself, due to his potential slide towards intolerance. In 1937, Nehru wrote an article in the 'Modern Review', under the name of 'Chanakya' to hide his real identity. In it, he addressed himself in the third person. In this article, Nehru was portrayed as a godlike figure.

> "Men like Jawaharlal, with all their capacity for great and good work, are unsafe in democracy. He calls himself a democrat and a socialist, and no doubt he does so in all earnestness, but every

[3] Nehru, An Autobiography, p 7
[4] Ibid, pp. 7–8

> psychologist knows that the mind is ultimately a slave to the heart and logic can always be made to fit in with the desires and irrepressible urges of a person. A little twist and Jawahar might turn a dictator sweeping aside the paraphernalia of a slow-moving democracy… His conceit is already formidable. It must be checked. We want no Caesars."

In the elections of 1937, Congress did well by winning most of the 1,585 seats in all eleven provinces, while the League barely saved its face in Muslim-minority provinces, as it was almost wiped out in Muslim-majority ones. Nehru refused to form a coalition with the Muslims who weren't part of Congress. Nehru started taunting Jinnah soon after the elections. "There are only two forces in the country, the Congress and the government... To vote against the Congress candidate is to vote for the continuance of British domination," said Jawaharlal Nehru while continuing, "it is the Congress alone which is capable of fighting the government. The opponents of the Congress are bound with each other by a community of interests. Their demands have nothing to do with the masses."[5] Jinnah responded by claiming that there were more than two powers in India.

> "The Congress have not the monopoly nor are they the sole custodians of Indian nationalism. As I have always maintained, the Muslim League is prepared to join hands with any progressive party in the fight for country's freedom, but to achieve this the question of minorities must be settled satisfactorily. Here I am not talking of only Muslims but of all minorities."[6]

Jinnah also asked Nehru to not poke his nose where it didn't belong. He thought, Nehru was being ignorant of Muslim issues in British India, but the latter disagreed.

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[5] Jinnah of Pakistan by Stanely Wolpert, p 147
[6] Jinnah Papers v 16, p 220

> "Mr Jinnah... objects to the Congress interfering with Muslim affairs… and calls upon the Congress to let Muslims alone... Who are the Muslims? Apparently, only those who follow Mr Jinnah and Muslim League... What does the Muslim League stand for? Does it stand for the independence of India, for anti-imperialism? I believe not. He represents a group of Muslims, no doubt highly estimable persons, for functioning in the higher regions of the upper-middle classes and having no contacts with the Muslim masses and few even with the Muslim lower middle class. May I suggest to Mr Jinnah that I come into greater touch with the Muslim masses than most of the members of the Muslim League."[7]

Ironically these words were coming from a person who, despite his abusive father, had everything since birth because of being from one of the elite families of British India, while Jinnah was a completely self-made man, who rose from nothing and became the wealthiest barrister of British India in the 1920s. He knew about the struggles of a common man better than Nehru because he was once one of them. Due to the victory of Congress, Nehru got carried away and called a 'national' convention in Delhi in March of 1937. He refused to invite any elected Muslim League or other non-Congress candidates to his convention, calling them "dangerous" and "semi-imperialist groups". Congress formed its ministries in 1937, which lasted for two years. These two years were a turning point for Jinnah due to Congress' blunders and the fact that Hindu Mahasabha's influence over it grew stronger. Now, conservatives like Rajagopalacharia and Sardar Patel also whispered in Nehru's ears, hence, causing unrest amongst the Muslims of British India.

The literacy rate in the Muslim community was already much lower than in the Hindu community. Hindu India was the home of enterprises like Tata, Birla, Wadia and other groups, all owned by non-Muslims. Muslim India was a hinterland for these industries, if not a dump. The lower classes suffered in this cut-throat system dominated by the upper

[7] Jinnah of Pakistan by Stanely Wolpert, pp 147-148

caste and some Banyas. Their monopoly kept a big chunk of the population economically backwards. Several, even in Muslim-majority areas, were indebted to land owners from the Caste Hindu community.

Not only Muslims but non-Caste Hindus and other minorities also suffered in British India. Their grievances were ignored and the demands to safeguard their political, economic and social interests were considered 'communal'. Even a handful of actual moderates in Congress were under the impression that the change would come by enforcing Indian nationalism from the top and not by addressing the issues of the downtrodden people first. Jinnah's approach was different. He wanted issues of minorities and oppressed classes addressed before any radical change in the centre.

Several years ago, he had stated, "I maintain that Hindu-Muslim [issue] is a condition precedent… before any constitution can be completed for the Government of India."[8] In the late 1930s, he maintained the same position and claimed that all of them wanted to see a day when Hindus and Muslims would seize to be such in a political sense to become one united whole; however, that was only possible if they faced bitter realities first and found a solution to people's issues. British India suffered from communal issues and it was quite normal for political, economic and social issues to take a communal turn on their own. These were centuries-old issues which had to be dealt with. Apart from other issues, Nehru was also quite naïve about the caste system itself. He concluded that all of these problems were there due to British rule, and the only solution was British departure.

During Congress rule (1937-1939), one could see the ideology of Basu, Bankim, Vivekananda, Savarkar, Golwalker, Rai and others emerging throughout British India. Hindi became the national language, Congress flag the national flag and 'Vande Matram' the national anthem. A strict prohibition was laid on cow slaughter and the singing of Vande Matram was made compulsory in the schools. Construction of new mosques was banned in several places and Muslims were harassed while they offered prayers.

[8] Jinnah: Myth and Reality by Yasser Latif Hamdani, p 1

Twenty-seven months of Congress rule were characterised by rising political Hinduism, which seemed to be working only for the welfare of the Caste Hindu community. Educational reforms were introduced that were purely anti-Muslim in spirit. The purpose of the Warda Taleemi Scheme was to erase Muslim culture from the minds of the children, while the Vidya Mandar Scheme aimed for promoting Hindu culture by making Mandar education compulsory at the elementary level. Muslims were also kept back in the economic circle.

They were expelled from government offices and career opportunities were closed for them. Their trade and agriculture were a target of Caste Hindus' harm, and they couldn't appeal for justice because the judiciary already had Brahmin imprints upon it. As a result, massive Hindu-Muslim riots took place. Several reports such as the 'Pirpur Report', 'Muslim Sufferings under Congress Rule', and 'The Sharif Report' were issued by the Muslim leaders to give word and voice to the injustice and cruelty a common person faced under the Congress regime.

Despite all of this, Jinnah was still not on board with the Pakistan Scheme. Even Iqbal changed his mind in 1937 and wrote two letters to Jinnah about his vision for Pakistan. Jinnah didn't reply to any of those letters because of two reasons: First, he wasn't looking for a complete separation of Hindu provinces and Muslim provinces; second, he was a man with his own vision, who didn't care much about what Iqbal had to say about the nature of Pakistan. Both might have agreed on some issues, especially on the economic front, like highlighting the disadvantages of neo-capitalism, but they were different when it came to other matters.

Jinnah became a member of the London-based socialist Fabian Society in the 1930s before becoming a left-leaning Muslim socialist in the 1940s like so many secular Muslim rulers of that era. When it came to political views, Iqbal in his later years was a bit conservative, while Jinnah remained liberal and secular. Both also had different views on Ahmadis. Iqbal considered them non-Muslim, while Jinnah called them Muslim and treated Ahmadi legislator, Sir Zafarullah Khan, as his son.[9]

[9] Statements, Speeches and Messages of Quaid-e-Azam - 1939, p 973

Some conspiracy theorists claim that Jinnah was changed by Iqbal in the 1930s, to justify the concept of a theocratic Pakistan, but it is inaccurate. Ironically, conservative Iqbal was also against the concept of the Church in Islam, despite not being as open-minded as Jinnah was. In 1935, Jinnah clearly stated, "Do not bring religion into politics… Religion is merely a matter between man and God."

Coming to the year 1938, despite not hearing from Jinnah, Iqbal asked the Muslims of Punjab to accept Jinnah as their leader as he was influential amongst Punjabi Muslims. He died shortly afterwards. Meanwhile, during the annual session of the Muslim League, Jinnah ended up avoiding the Pakistan Scheme once again, while the world was getting ready for the second World War. In 1939, the British announced that they were joining the war against Nazi Germany, and until the war was over, there would be little room to focus on transferring the power to the Indian people and giving them independence from British rule. In a rage, Congressmen started resigning from their ministries. Jinnah was already building his support for the last two years by criticising the Congress regime. He mainly focused on Muslim-majority areas where he was ignored in the last elections. Due to Congress' blunders and Jinnah finally 'following' the advice of Jawaharlal Nehru and reaching the common people of British India, his popularity continued to grow. Hence, the Muslims of India gave him the title of Quaid-e-Azam (The Great Leader).

His colleagues told him that he could capitalise on it further by looking like a Muslim nobleman. So, Jinnah started wearing Sherwani and Shalwar and his iconic Jinnah Cap on special occasions to become one with the Muslim crowd. He also started praying on Eid, which is twice a year. When the Congress rule ended in 1939, Jinnah announced the 'Day of Deliverance', which was celebrated by pro-Jinnah Muslims. However, despite resignations and some breathing room, the situation for minorities, in general, remained grim.

Congress followers in the U.P. demolished a mosque, soon after the Day of Deliverance and converted it into a cattle pen; cow vigilantes continued to roam the streets; some Muslims were threatened with death if they joined Muslim League, while others were fined Rs 30,000

through police; there was injustice in courts because judges had their favourite parties to please; other minorities and oppressed classes weren't strangers to being mistreated by the usual suspects either, that's why their representatives like the Justice Party of Tamil Nadu and Scheduled Caste Federation had allied themselves with the Muslim League earlier and took part in the Day of Deliverance. Scheduled Caste Federation represented Dalit Hindus, who were over 50 million in number, while the overall population of India was nearing 400 million in the 1940s. Justice Party on the other hand raised its voice for the oppressed non-Brahmin Hindus, especially the ones from the Shudra caste.

The Muslim population in the subcontinent was around 90-100 million. Brahmins, at best, were less than 5%, yet they had control over everything. Kshatriyas were roughly around 15%. Dalits and Shudras together formed a majority, and their condition, just like the Muslims, was terrible, but both could prove useful if made to follow alt-right Hindu nationalism created by the upper caste for its own benefit. Common people of every community and illiterate masses, in general, can be easier to fool, and most of the time, they can't tell right from wrong in such conditions. They merely become tools for a handful of people who call the shots. Hence, even in this case, the majority can't be blamed entirely because the real culprits who manipulated them were sitting on top. Jinnah was against these manipulators. The majority's domination was a threat to Muslims, but only because it was under the spell of the ruling elite and monks who kept them ignorant for their benefit, just like how mullahs do in Muslim communities.

Chapter 6

Prelude to Lahore Resolution

Since, the Brahminical order gave religions an important role in defining 'nationhood' in historical India, in the early 18th century, during the fall of Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Mughal Emperor, the radical Sikhs emerged from their mountain retreats and laid waste to Punjab from Ambala to Lahore to take their revenge. The mosques were defiled, the houses burned, the women raped and the Muslims slaughtered; the whole region was ravaged. Mosques and tombs were razed to the ground. They slaughtered and burned the inhabitants indiscriminately, without regard to age or sex.

Millions also died when several regions of the subcontinent were being brought under British administration around 1857. Despite this forced 'unity', a colonial project, there were still conflicts between Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus throughout British Raj. Under the crown's rule, the first major riots took place because of the Urdu-Hindi controversy in 1867. Then there were the 1893's Bombay riots where countless were killed by the cow vigilantes. Both East India Company and Crown Rule together, starved at least 60 million people to death. The region was too large to be handled by a single administration or a strong unitary centre and needed a more complicated or practical approach.

Riots of 1905 and then 1911 divided the communities even more. In the following years, Satyagraha and Khilafat Movement further radicalised a society which was already divided from top to bottom. This was the very reason why other nations achieved self-rule much earlier than the Indians because here they couldn't form a united front against British rule. According to official data, things became worse after 1920.

1921-1922

In the year 1921, the Muharram celebrations had been attended by serious riots in Bengal. In Punjab, a great deal of property damage

was done. Although the number of deaths was comparatively small, this was just a warm-up phase. During the next year, the followers of Gandhi, who took part in the Khilafat Movement, attacked policemen, in Chauri Chaura town of U.P.. The police station was set on fire and 22 policemen were burned alive.

1923-1924

In 1923, several riots took place between Hindus and Muslims during the month of Muharram, both in Punjab and Bengal. The number of casualties was low by Indian standards but several properties were damaged in both provinces. An anti-Islam poem, which was published in Kohat, led to terrible riots on 9 and 10 September 1924. Over 155 people were killed and several wounded. House properties worth Rs 900,000, a huge sum in the 1920s, were destroyed. Several houses and shops were also looted. Even after the settlement, conflicts on a smaller scale continued.

1925

Riots took place throughout the British Raj from July to August. Most serious of them were reported in Dehli and Nagpur. August also witnessed many more deadly riots in Lahore, Lucknow, Moradabad and Bhagalpur. Lucknow, Shahajahanpur, Kankinarah and Allahabad saw conflict between Hindus and Muslims in September and October. Several people were murdered and their properties were looted.

1926

On the 1st of June alone, around 40 people were injured in Calcutta. Later, a temple was also desecrated by the Muslims in Gujrat. On 15 July, a Hindu festival near a mosque killed 14 persons and injured 116. The next day saw the beginning of the important Muslim festival of Muharram. Riotings broke out on that day and continued until 25 July. They claimed the lives of 28 people, and 226 were injured. In

September, during the Ramlila festival in Aligarh, the Hindu-Muslim conflict forced the police to open fire to keep the mob at bay. By the end of the day, 5 people were dead. Sholapur witnessed another clash in October when Hindus were taking their idols in a car and came across a mosque, where they were attacked by Muslim fanatics, which developed into a riot. Another conflict in Howrah killed 2 and injured 30 people on 16 October.

1927-1929

On 5 April, Muslims clashed with Arya Samajists in Calcutta. In the coming three days, over 110 places were set on fire in the city and several mosques and temples were attacked. The military had to be called in and it opened fire to disperse the crowd. 44 people died in these violent clashes, while 584 were injured. Looting caused a great economic loss to Calcutta and British Raj as a whole. A petty quarrel in a street, on 22 April, led to fighting between the mobs of two communities. This continued for six days and ended up killing 66 people while injuring 391. Police had to intervene on 12 occasions. Rioting continued in the following months and only two months were relatively peaceful.

Sometimes, simple disputes between a customer and shopkeeper, if both of them happened to be followers of different religions, often developed into full-scale riots and engulfed entire cities. Apart from the riots mentioned earlier, other clashes also took place in Calcutta between May 1926 and April 1927. These 40 riots claimed the lives of 197 people and seriously injured 1,598. People continued to drop dead in the coming days in Punjab, U.P., Bombay, Sindh and Calcutta. Between the beginning of April and the end of September 1927, no fewer than 25 riots were reported. Of these, 10 occurred in the United Provinces; 6 in the Bombay Presidency; 2 each in Punjab, C.P. (Central Provinces), Bengal and Bihar-and-Orissa; and 1 in Delhi. All of these killed 103 people, while 1,084 were injured.

As far as Lahore was concerned, a collision between Sikhs and Muslims took place between 4 May to 7 May 1927 and ended up

killing 27 people, while 272 were rushed to hospitals for being seriously injured. Troops were deployed and they largely restored order; however, casual assassinations and minor riots were still reported in some areas. In July, 13 people lost their lives in Multan and 24 were wounded. 9 riots took place in Bettiah during August, which killed 11 and injured 100.

Meanwhile, U.P. lost 14 persons and 165 were injured. September riots in Nagpur killed 19 people and 123 were admitted to hospitals. Many Muslim families abandoned their homes and moved to different parts of the British Raj. During the same period, two Brahminical publications, which contained derogatory terms for Prophet Muhammad PBUH, made communal rioting even worse. In the coming days, Bombay witnessed 149 killed and 739 injured. In the aftermath, 14 people lost their lives and 33 were injured in Punjabi villages. Small-scale conflicts continued in 1928 throughout the British Raj. As far as 1929 is concerned, just Punjab alone witnessed 813 riots.

1930

Between April and May of 1930, 35 people got killed on one occasion, and 200 were slaughtered on another, due to the eruption of a new civil disobedience movement by Mahatma Gandhi. These deaths were the result of clashes between different Congress volunteers and British officials. However, as it always happens in the subcontinent, the political disturbances took a communal turn. This was because the Muslims refused to submit to the coercive methods used by Congress volunteers to compel Muslims to join Gandhi's programme. The result was that although the year began with political riots, it ended in numerous and quite serious communal riots. 100 villages were burned, destroyed and looted around Sukkur in August of 1930. Reports of several disturbances were also received from Bengal, U.P., Bombay, Nagpur and Madras. These disturbances also included a clash between Hindus and Christians. This continued till October 1930.

1931

Several small-scale riots were reported from Bengal in January and Northern British India in February. This state of affairs was due chiefly to the increasing exasperation created amongst Muslims by the paralysis of trade and the general atmosphere of unrest and confusion that resulted from Congress' activities under Gandhi's agitation. In March, rioting was reported in Mirzapur, Agra, Dhanbad and Amritsar. Assam lost 1 Hindu and 3 Muslims; meanwhile, one riot took place in the Asansol division of Bengal during the Muharram festival in 1931. Bihar-and-Orissa reported 16 clashes between Hindus and Muslims. During Eid, a rumour of cow slaughter led to a conflict between 300 Hindus and 200 Muslims; both were fully armed with knives, spears and swords.

Local officers managed to prevent things from getting worse; however, 1 Hindu was killed during this clash. Other than this, 2 other riots took place in Monghyr. On one occasion, the Hindus were the aggressors, and on another, the Muslims. Vellore, Salem Town, and Kitchipalaiyam also witnessed communal tension. Some of these were merely the result of street games and wrestling matches between Hindus and Muslims, which were organised in these areas, going wrong. Sportsman spirit was nowhere to be found. Overall, 907 riots were reported throughout Punjab in 1931, many of them communal. Riots also occurred in Muttra, Azamgarh, Mainpuri, Dehra Dun, Ballia city, Bulandshahr and several other places.

Even though Congress leadership had abandoned Baghat Singh earlier, now its members forced Muslims to observe hartal in memory of his death in Cawnpore, after his execution on 23 March 1931. This led to the plundering of several Hindu shops by the Muslims in return. Later, several temples, mosques, houses and shops owned by both sides were set on fire in the next two days. 500 families abandoned their homes and took shelter in villages. In some cases, entire families were wiped out and their dead bodies were thrown into gutters. In the end, the death toll was recorded as between 300 and 500. This communal riot, which occurred because of the provocative conduct of the

adherents of the Congress Party, was the worst that the subcontinent experienced for many years. The trouble, moreover, spread from the city to the neighbouring villages, where there were sporadic communal disturbances for several days afterwards.

1932-1933

These two years were relatively free from communal agitations and disturbances. This welcome improvement was doubtless in some measure due to the suppression of lawlessness generally as well as Round Table talks which gave people some hope for a settlement between all sides.

1934

In the following years, the relationship between communities started to deteriorate once more. Several deaths were reported during clashes that took place in Benares, Cawnpore, Lahore, Peshawar, Bhagalpur, Cannanore, Sindh, Bengal and Ghazipur. In May, mere unintentional spitting by a Muslim shopkeeper upon a Hindu passer-by led to rioting and the death of 4 people. 80 people were also injured before the dispute was finally settled in September of the same year. Apart from minor riots in Punjab and U.P., Madras also reported a conflict which was the result of alleged reflections on the Muslim Holy Figures by a Hindu publication. This conflict killed 1 person and injured 13.

Meanwhile, in June, Sikhs started to demolish a mosque and replace it with a Gurudwara, in the city of Lahore. Legally, the place belonged to the Sikhs but fanatics from the Muslim community wouldn't allow it. Due to Sikhs having a legal right, the police decided to disperse the Muslim crowd, which created anti-police sentiments amongst the Muslim community. As a result, the local police station was attacked multiple times throughout July by ultra-conservative Muslims. The police were forced to open fire which killed 12 people. Police also suffered some casualties during clashes. Eventually, the military intervened to restore order.

1935

On 19 March 1935, a serious incident occurred in Karachi after the execution of Abdul Quayum, the Muslim who had murdered Nathuramal, a Hindu suspected of committing blasphemy. Abdul Quayum's body was taken by the District Magistrate, accompanied by a police party, to be handed over to the deceased's family for burial outside the city. A huge crowd, estimated to be about 25,000 strong, reached the place of burial. Though the relatives of Abdul Quayum wished to complete the burial at the cemetery, the most violent members of the mob were determined to take the body in procession, through the city. The local authorities decided to prevent the mob from entering the cemetery since this would have led to communal rioting. The mob, however, managed to break in and the officials were forced to open fire which killed 47 people and injured 134.

1936

In the year 1936, there were 4 communal riots. On 14 April, a Muslim procession was allegedly attacked with bricks from the roofs of Hindu houses. These houses were then set on fire which killed 11 Hindus including 3 children, who were burned alive. The second riot took place in Poona on 24 April, the third on 27 April in Jamalpur and the fourth on 15 October in Bombay.

1937-1938

The year 1937 was full of communal disturbances. On 27 March 1937, there was a Hindu-Muslim riot at Panipat over the Holi procession, during which 14 persons were killed. On the 1st of May 1937, there occurred a communal riot in Madras in which 50 persons were injured. The month of May was full of communal riots which took place mostly in C.P. and Punjab. One that took place in Shikarpur in Sindh caused great panic. On 18 June there was a Sikh-Muslim riot in Amritsar. It assumed such proportions that British troops had to be

called in to maintain order. The year 1938 was marked by two communal riots, one in Allahabad on 26 March and another in Bombay in April.

1939

There were 6 Hindu-Muslim riots in 1939. On the 21st of January, there was a riot at Asansol in which 1 person was killed and 18 injured. It was followed by a riot in Cawnpore on 11 February in which 42 were killed, 200 injured and 800 arrested. On 4 March 1939, there was a riot in Benares followed by a riot near Calcutta on 5 March. On 19 June, there was again a riot in Cawnpore. A serious riot occurred on 20 November in Sukkur. The most terrible of all the disturbances occurred on the night of the 20 November, at Gosarji village. According to an early statement sent by the District Magistrate to Government, admittedly incomplete, 27 Hindus were murdered that night. According to the witnesses, the number was 37.[1] Early next year, Jinnah proposed a formula to solve the communal issue in British Raj, in the form of 'Lahore Resolution', which everyone talks about but hardly anyone reads carefully; let alone understands.

[1] Hindu Alternative to Pakistan by Columbia University

Chapter 7

Common Motherland

As Congressmen resigned from their ministries, one could foresee the beginning of another civil disobedience movement. Jinnah and his people were already humiliated by Congress after the elections. Now the war meant the end of British rule, which was to eliminate the old centre created by it and a new centre with its own constitution was going replace it. Jinnah was short on time, hence, he decided to use the wedge between Congress and the British government to his advantage. He approached Viceroy Linlithgow and assured him of no trouble for the British Raj during the war but in exchange, they would have to listen to minorities. Just like back in 1906, both were standing on shaky ground. Jinnah had hinted at this 'alliance' earlier and publicly stated that he was prepared to be "the ally of even the devil" if Muslim interests demanded it. "It is not because we are in love with imperialism," he told the League's annual session, "but in politics, one has to play one's game as on a chessboard."

After assurances from Jinnah, Viceroy asked Jinnah to bring his demands to the table, which he did in the shape of Lahore Resolution, drafted by Sir Zafarullah Khan. A few weeks before the resolution itself was tabled, Jinnah recalled the injustice minorities had to face under Congress' rule. While, Hindu nationalists considered Muslims as outsiders, who according to them had to be killed, converted or forced to flee, Jinnah had his own version of the so-called Two Nations Theory. He considered both Muslims and Hindus people of the same homeland despite having different lifestyles and ways of thinking. He stated that due to the multicultural nature of the region, straightforward democracy and majority rule wouldn't work in India. Jinnah argued that the new constitution would have to treat Muslims and Hindus on the basis of equality and allow them to share power in the centre to end communal issues. In his mind, this would also stop one nation from dominating the other. In his Time n Tide article, from January 1940, Jinnah wrote:

"Democratic systems based on the concept of a homogeneous nation such as England are very definitely not applicable to heterogeneous countries such as India... If therefore, it is accepted that there is in India a major and a minor nation, it follows that a parliamentary system based on the majority principle must inevitably mean the rule of a major nation… In the five Muslim provinces, every attempt was made to defeat the Muslim-led coalition ministries.

Attempts were made to have Bande Mataram, the Congress Party song, recognised as the national anthem, the Party flag as the national flag, and the real national language, Urdu, supplanted by Hindi. Everywhere oppression commenced and complaints poured in such force. Is it the desire [of the British] that India should become a totalitarian Hindu State? And I feel certain that Muslim India will never submit to such a position and will be forced to resist it with every means in their power. To conclude, a constitution must be evolved that recognises that there are in India two nations who both must share the governance of their common motherland."

Then, The Tribune's article from 23 February 1940 reported:

"Mr Jinnah said the position today was that, on the one hand, Great Britain wanted to rule over India while, on the other hand, Mr Gandhi wanted to rule over this country. Mr Jinnah declared that the Muslims were modest but they would not allow themselves to be ruled over... by both together or by either of them. Concluding, Mr Jinnah said that Muslims today were more politically conscious than any other community and were born to win freedom not for Muslims alone but also for Hindus and others."

Jinnah was thinking about having something like Canadian Federalism which had eleven components ever since the Canadian

Constitution was implemented in 1867. One component was the federal government, while the other ten were autonomous regions under provincial governments. These eleven components are still sharing power today and even have their own flags. John A. Macdonald, Canada's first Prime Minister, originally favoured a unitary system, just like Congress' regime, but after witnessing the carnage of the American Civil War, he ended up supporting a federal system with a power-sharing agreement between different regions as they contained different cultures and ways of living. Through this, he wanted to avoid similar conflicts. So, in 1940, Jinnah merely promoted co-existence between different communities that were having trouble uniting and becoming one nation. In Jinnah's mind, this was only possible through a power-sharing agreement in the centre, at least until the transfer of power was completed and India became a republic with one constitution acceptable to everyone.

Jinnah explained the bitter truth about India's situation in his address on 22 March 1940, during the first day of Lahore session which ended on 24 March. First, he tried to emancipate women by inviting them to take part in the upcoming struggle. He preferred them to take part in the movement directly next to men but also stated that they could serve from home under a purdah if there was an issue with the former approach. Then he focused on issues of minorities. "We had many difficulties to face from January 1937 right up to the declaration of war," Jinnah complained. "We had to face the Vidya Mandir in Nagpur. We had to face the Wardha Scheme all over India. We had to face ill-treatment and oppression of Muslims in the Congress governed provinces."

He criticised the British Government for imposing the Government of India Act 1935 and trying to implement those schemes that worked in their own homeland but were never going to work in India because the society and issues of India were different. "Ladies and Gentlement, we never thought that the Congress High Command would have acted in the manner in which they actually did in the Congress-governed provinces. I never dreamt that they would ever come down so low as that," he complained about Congress' two years long rule. "We reminded them of their special responsibilities to us and to other

minorities and the solemn pledges they had given to us. But all that had become a dead letter... Congress, thank heavens, went out of office."

Jinnah asked all oppressed classes, especially Muslims to unite because that would be the "best safeguard" against oppression. He then stated that from now on, no constitution would be acceptable without the consent of Muslim India. According to him, the upcoming civil disobedience movement to 'attain freedom' by Gandhi and Congress was merely an attempt to replace British dominated centre with the Caste Hindu-dominated centre. Jinnah saw settlement between Hindus and Muslims as the British responsibility, which they had to ensure before leaving India for good. He pointed out how certain elites in Congress were making decisions for the Muslims on their own, instead of consulting them first.

> "Mr Rajagopalacharia, the ex-Prime Minister of Madras, says that the only panacea for Hindu-Muslim unity is the joint electorate. That is his prescription, as one of the great doctors of the Congress organisation. Babu Rajendra Prasad, on the other hand, only a few days ago says, 'Oh, what more do the Mussalmans want?' I will read to you his words. He says, referring to the minority question, 'If Britain would concede our right of self-determination, surely all these differences would disappear.' How will our differences disappear? He does not explain or enlightens us about it."

Then he quoted Lala Lajpat Rai's letter to C.R. Das from 1925. Apart from hate-mongering against Muslims in this letter, Lala Lajpat Rai had also stated that democracy wouldn't work in India. Rai also doubted the possibility of co-existence between Hindus and Muslims. Jinnah complained, "Ladies and gentlemen when Lala Lajpat Rai said that we cannot rule this country on democratic lines it was alright, but when I had the temerity to speak the same truth... there was a shower of attacks and criticism." Here by 'democratic lines' Jinnah meant straightforward democracy with the majority's rule under a unitary and strong centre. He favoured a democratic structure where different communities or regions would work together on equal footing to frame an agreeable constitution during the interim period.

> "What the unitary government of India for 150 years had failed to achieve cannot be realized by the imposition of a central federal government... So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realised, any constitution that may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive and harmful not only to the Mussalmans but to the British and Hindus also. If the British Government are really in earnest and sincere to secure peace and happiness of the people of this subcontinent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into 'Autonomous National States.'"

Jinnah refused to use the word 'sovereign' for Muslim states in his speech to keep the door open for one federal government on top of all "Autonomous National States". In the worst-case scenario, he wanted pacts between sovereign regions to ensure safety for minorities in both regions, Hindus in the Muslim-majority region and Muslims in the Hindu-majority region.

"There is no reason why these states should be antagonistic to each other. On the other hand, the rivalry and the natural desire and efforts on the part of one to dominate the social order and establish political supremacy over the other in the government of the country will disappear. It will lead more towards natural goodwill and international pacts between them and they can live in complete harmony with their neighbours. This will lead further to a friendly settlement all the more easily with regard to minorities by reciprocal arrangements and adjustments between Muslim India and Hindu India, which will far more adequately and effectively safeguard the rights and interests of Muslims and various other minorities."

It was clear that these autonomous zones were going to have a considerable amount of minorities within them and they would be safeguarded through pacts between the regions or through a common centre which would give all the zones much-needed parity to stop one's domination over the other one. Jinnah ended his long speech by

criticising the schemes of creating a Caste Hindu Raj, just like how in the past he refused to support Pan Islamism during the Khilafat Movement. Any type of theocracy in his mind was a threat to those communities that didn't practice the majority's religion. He concluded, "Hindus and Muslims brought together under a democratic system forced upon the minorities can only mean Hindu Raj. Democracy of the kind of which the Congress High Command is enamoured with would mean the complete destruction of what is most precious in Islam."

Two days later, on 24 March 1940, Lahore Resolution was tabled. This resolution didn't include words like 'Partition' or 'Pakistan'. In fact, when different schemes were brought to Sir Zafarullah Khan to help him draft Lahore Resolution, he looked at original schemes and interpretations of Pakistan and ended up calling them "impractical". So, in the beginning, Lahore Resolution was less about Pakistan as Chaudhry Rehmat Ali envisioned it and more about grouping Muslim India and Hindu India regions to create large autonomous zones under one loose centre. The second paragraph of the resolution demanded equal status for Muslims in the constitution-making process. It read, "No Revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent."

The third paragraph dealt with the grouping of several Muslim provinces to create one or two large Autonomous Muslim States (aka Groups). Then these large groups were also going to have internal autonomy and sovereignty for their member units. The word 'autonomous' was used for British Indian Provinces such as Punjab, NWFP, Bengal, Assam and Sindh, while 'sovereign' was used for Princely States, also known as Indian States. Jinnah later clarified that the Princely States were at liberty to maintain their sovereignty and form a confederation with the group(s). The third paragraph read:

> "The areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

Then the next paragraph talked about safeguards for minorities in both regions. It's now quite clear that Jinnah was looking for a solution on an all-India level because complete separation would've isolated Hindus in Muslim States and Muslims in Hindu State. When talking about Lahore Resolution, later on, one Leaguer suggested that Muslim minorities must not be left alone in Hindu India, to which Jinnah replied, "In the first place, the Resolution made it quite clear that we cannot leave the Muslims in Hindu provinces to their fate."[1] The fourth paragraph also reminded majorities in both regions that it was not up to them to tell minorities how they should be safeguarded; instead, minorities in both regions were to be consulted before reaching a detailed and final version of the constitution. The paragraph first talked about safeguards for minorities in Muslim regions before expecting the same from Hindu regions.

> "That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these (Muslim majority) units and in these regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specially provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them."

The last paragraph hinted at some sort of shared centre and a single constitution for the whole Indian subcontinent. However, how much power this centre and its member groups were going to have was left for future discussions, as the resolution ended with "as may be necessary".

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[1] 22 October 1940. M.A. Jinnah to Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari. Jinnah Papers v 16, p 92

> "This session further authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."

The resolution itself didn't mention the implementation of Islam in Muslim regions through the state's authority even once. It's a secular and inclusive document that more or less envisioned the Federation of India with autonomous zones. Jinnah used his words very carefully. When he talked about the 'division of India', it meant dividing Indian subcontinent into multiple autonomous zones by grouping five Muslim and six Hindu provinces. Then these groups were going to form a shared centre or have agreements with each other to safeguard mutual interests. When he talked about 'partition', it meant the sub-division of Punjab and Bengal, and the complete separation of Muslim provinces and Hindu provinces from each other with no centre on top or treaties to hold them together. Jinnah always demanded the former and never the latter.

In his address to Mysore University Union, Jinnah reaffirmed that the only practical solution to the communal issue in his opinion was sharing of power between different communities in the new constitution. He also advised the students to ignore catchy slogans raised by the Muslim leaders in the streets and think independently.[2] Jinnah further explained his idea of power-sharing in his lesser-known and forgotten research book 'India's Problem of her Future Constitution'. So, here we'll see things through Jinnah's perspective and not how others defined or interpreted the events surrounding the 'Pakistan Movement'.

A power-sharing solution was also suggested by S.A. Latif in his book 'Muslim Problem in India'. He had sent a copy of it to Nehru a

[2] Reported by The Star of India. May 30, 1941

few months earlier and the latter dismissed the scheme in his analysis by stating that India's problems were only economic in nature. On 10 January 1940, Latif reminded Nehru about his solution in a far-sighted letter once more.

> "I appreciate your frank criticism of the views I have advanced in the 'Muslim Problem in India'... I too dislike imperialism. The difference is only this: you pit yourself only against British imperialism; I disapprove of imperialism in every form, British or Congress, Muslim or any other. I too want India to remain a single political entity, but I believe that this is possible only when all the communities feel united in an individual security. It is why I am against the Pakistan Movement, as conceived by its original promoters... I am in favour of a single federation but composed of culturally autonomous states...

The idea of cultural zones is a mild idea compared with that of Pakistan. But that will be thrown into limbo... and the spectre of Pakistan alone will stare you in the face tomorrow if today you fail to use your opportunities to frame a constitution for the country agreeable to all... My impression is that you simply do not know how to enlist the co-operation of Mr Jinnah. He is as good a patriot as you are, and as sincere in his determination to see India emancipated. But some of you try to baffle him, and he baffles you in return."[3]

Lahore Resolution was adopted on the night of 24 March 1940. Soon after this session, the Congress propaganda machine came into action and news articles appeared all over British India claiming that Jinnah was demanding Pakistan and was about to 'break India in half' as if the entire Land of Indus was ever fully united behind one elected ruler, rather than its eleven provinces being possession of the British Empire even in the 20th century. Not to mention, over five hundred

[3] S.A. Latif to Jawaharlal Nehru. 10 January 1940. Jinnah Papers v 15, pp 29-31

semi-independent Princely States where direct British rule wasn't administered.

One also needs to remember how things always were before the British even started their conquest of Land of Indus. Jinnah being an Indian patriot still initially protested against the word 'Pakistan' being associated with him because the original schemes of Pakistan as presented by Chaudhry Rehmat Ali were different from Jinnah's demands at Lahore session. However, later he ended up adopting the word 'Pakistan' for his movement because of its popularity and charm. In January 1941, he informed his colleagues, "Lahore Resolution… is popularly known as Pakistan."[4] This meant, it was not a formal name given to the resolution in the beginning, but something which was only adopted afterwards when the people associated it with Pakistan.

Later, during an address, he admitted that this word was enforced on them by the Congressmen and their followers. "I think you will bear me out that when we passed the Lahore Resolution, we had not used the word Pakistan," said Quaid-e-Azam before asking, "who gave us this word?" Crowd chanted, "The Hindus." Jinnah concluded, "They (the Hindus) fathered this word upon us."[5] Then he thanked them because the word 'Pakistan' was short, catchy and more appealing than 'Lahore Resolution'.

One Leaguer also pointed out that "the words Muslim India are not so attractive to the common man as is the word Pakistan".[6] But despite adopting the name 'Pakistan' for his movement, Jinnah had his own interpretation of it, while others had their own. There were several schemes and versions of Pakistan. As we know, Chaudhry Rehmat Ali himself had two schemes. The first one was a separate dominion which didn't include Bengal. The second one was a Muslim Empire by the name of 'Pakistan Commonwealth of Nations'. Others came up with their own schemes and visions for Pakistan, the Muslim homeland.

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[4] 20 January 1941. M.A. Jinnah to Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan and others. Jinnah Papers v 16, p 228, p 225, p 230 etc

[5] The Veiled History of Two Nations Theory by Naya Daur

[6] 23 June 1947. M.A. Khan to M.A. Jinnah. Jinnah Papers v 2, p 429

Some of these schemes were named Eastern Pakistan, Scheme of Indian Federation, India's Future, The Millat and the Mission, The Millat of Islam, The Founder of Pakistan, An Alternative to Pakistan, Pakistan and Muslim India, Confederacy of India and so on. There was some interest in forming a confederation in the League's ranks. A confederation can have multiple sovereign states under it with their own federal governments and constitutions. Their shared centre is there to take care of common interests of its member sovereign states or in simple words, member democratic countries.

Some federations in the past were several small regions of a confederation before they merged to form one federation with autonomous zones. In other cases, the opposite happened. Recent history is full of such political arrangements and their ever-changing nature. Canada transformed from a confederation into a federation with autonomous zones. Belgium started with a unitary system and over the years it became a loose federation. Today it identifies itself as a federation but in reality, it contains many features of a confederation as well.

Another example of a confederation is European Union, in which each state is sovereign but borders between different states remain open. People are free to move from one sovereign state to another. They also have trade agreements with one another and are on friendly terms. Jinnah had something similar in mind when it came to his maximum demand. He always asked Congress and the British to accept the principle of Pakistan before anything else. The principle of Pakistan or accepting Pakistan in theory meant, considering the Muslim India region as a sovereign homeland of the Muslims and this region having the right of self-determination.

Once, that was done, then the Pakistan region was supposed to come to a compromise and form a shared centre with the Hindu-majority areas based on equality. This approach gave Muslim minority much-needed leverage which the straightforward centre dominated by the majority was not going to have. Now everything had to proceed through the channels of Pakistan. So, Jinnah started calling the North-Western zone of Muslim India 'Pakistan' and Hindu India 'Hindustan'.

Muslim India's North-Eastern zone, which contained Bengal and Assam, was either going to form its own group or become part of Pakistan. This was not clear till the very end, and both options remained open. However, Lahore Resolution had hinted at more than one "Independent States" in Muslim India. To avoid confusion, for now, we'll also treat the North-Eastern zone as part of Pakistan because its mandate was also important if Pakistan was to be created in any shape or form. On the other hand, for Jinnah 'India' was the whole region of the subcontinent these two Indian states of Pakistan and Hindustan were going to be part of. Several years later even when a separate Pakistan was about to be created, Leaguers still thanked Jinnah for "untiring and strenuous efforts in achieving the goal of Pakistan – a sovereign Muslim State in India".[7] They still expected some sort of arrangement between two regions of India.

So, a sovereign 'Pakistan' was now a starting point of negotiations, and once accepted in principle, Jinnah was willing to cooperate, if the other side was offering something worthwhile in return. These were the basics of his plan. When asked for more details about Pakistan, he always asked the people to read Lahore Resolution because, according to him, everything they needed to know was already mentioned there. Jinnah used this approach to please everyone at the same time and let them interpret Pakistan demand on their own, as far as its territorial nature was concerned.

He not only had his adversaries to worry about but also some of his so-called allies with their own interests and visions. For some, nothing else mattered other than maximum provincial autonomy even if the centre got dominated by anyone. For others, fully independent, free and sovereign Pakistan mattered more than anything else. Such elements didn't care much about Muslims in Hindu-majority areas. Jinnah, on the other hand, had to think about minorities in both regions. To safeguard minorities in both regions through a settlement, some sort of connection between both regions was necessary.

[7] 25 June 1947. A.H. Darbar to M.A. Jinnah. Ibid, p 490

Chapter 8

Islamic References

The territorial nature and future of Pakistan remained unknown till the last moment. Nobody knew for sure if it was going to end up being a part of a confederation, federation or something completely separate from Hindu regions. However, when it came to the constitution which was to rule Pakistan, Jinnah was quite clear about it from the start. It was going to contain three basic features.

1. Parliamentary democracy with civilian supremacy.
2. Secularism, and no theocracy.
3. Social justice, equality, fair play, impartiality and brotherhood of a man as guiding principles for the constitution-making body.

Jinnah was fiercely opposed by alt-right groups like the Khaksar movement, Majlis-e-Ahrar, Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Hind and a fascist party founded in 1941 by the name of Jamat-e-Islami. Maulana Maududi was its founder and leader. All these groups were either in the camp of Congress or at least anti-Jinnah if not pro-Congress entirely. To break the votes of the Muslim League, they started to claim that Jinnah was creating a separate and atheistic state, which would be completely anti-Islamic. This also manipulated many of Jinnah's followers and his colleagues into questioning his secularism. In response, he used to claim that principles of social justice, democracy, fair play and so on were not against the spirit of Islam.

However, at the same time he also made it quite clear that despite practising these 'Islamic Principles', Pakistan was not going to become a theocracy. He maintained this position during and after the so-called Pakistan Movement. His infamous State Bank speech, used by right-wing propagandists, is no different. There, in simple words, he criticised neo-capitalism and the class-based system to promote equality and social justice, which he also did when he was a member of the Fabian Society in England. As an atheist and neo-capitalism's critic, Karl Marx, in a letter to his daughter, Laura Lafargue, also said,

"For Mussalman, there is no such thing as subordination... which Europeans have failed to understand... Absolute equality is in their social intercourse."

Some people claim that Jinnah once stated that the final version of Pakistan's constitution was going to be shaped by the people of Pakistan. They use this to prove that he was open to creating a religious state if people wanted. While the fact is completely opposite. He wanted people to shape the constitution while staying within the boundaries of the three features mentioned earlier. And giving the people the right to amend laws is exactly what secularism stands for. It empowers the people, instead of the priest's 'perfect divine law' which doesn't leave any room for amendments, unless approved by the Church. One of Jinnah's followers talked about this in his letter, which further clarifies this issue.

"Fundamentally, there can only be two conceptions about forms of government.

1. Sovereignty of God
2. Sovereignty of man

> "Autocracy, aristocracy, oligarchy, democracy... and all other modern'isms' fall under the second category, sovereignty of man, and are driving the world to destruction. To choose a form of government from this set is to choose an evil from among a number of evils. That every form of human government is liable to corruption is borne out by historical facts. Just survey the successive changes in Europe, when government by Christian priests, the theocracy, went down to intolerable depth of corruption."[1]

The letter ignores Church's own corruption and intolerance. It tries to justify why Muslims should not follow the path of empowering the

[1] S.M. Zauqi to M.A. Jinnah. Jinnah Papers, v 15, p 42

people. Jinnah's statements about people deciding the future of Pakistan and the final shape of its constitution puts his vision in the second category of that letter. Jinnah just used to claim that modern principles do not clash with the spirit of Islam from "1300 years ago" and democracy was "in our blood". Whether someone considers it a political statement to justify the creation of a secular and democratic state or his honest interpretation of Islam, just like Marx's views on the Islamic civilization, is up to the people to decide. None of it, however, changes the fact that he was against theocracy, no matter which label one puts on Jinnah's thinking. The only thing that matters is implementing its essence practically.

Jinnah's so-called 'Islamic References', were not a contradiction to his secular statements but an attempt to encourage people into accepting liberal values. English Liberalism itself was a by-product of the Protestant Revolution, a religious movement. The founder of English Liberalism, John Locke was a religious man but his interpretation of the Bible was liberal and through that, he paved the road for the separation of clergy and the matters of the State. He used one verse (Mathew, 22:21) to justify his secularism the most, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." John Locke was also against atheism because according to his interpretation, it promoted a moralless world. He thought that without morals, the concept of society and rule of law would vanish, and everything would end up being about the survival of the fittest.

> "Those are not at all to be tolerated who deny the being of God. Promises, covenants, and oaths, which are the bonds of human society, can have no hold upon an atheist. The taking away of God, through but even in thought, dissolves all."

Jinnah was an evolution of Classical Liberalism, that's why, even though he was inspired by English history, he never opposed atheists. On the other hand, he never quoted verses from the Holy Quran as Locke did with the Holy Bible either. Instead, he claimed that equality was something which Islam also stood for. His secularism was of

British variety and not of French one; the latter was more intolerant when it came to religion. At one point, during the French Revolution, they burned several places of worship to the ground and introduced a new calendar that neither marked Jesus' crucifixion as a starting point of the calendar nor gave any importance to the Christian holidays. On the other hand, as long as religious values or references are not used as a state policy to cause religious divisions, they are compatible with the spirit of English Liberalism and secularism. They can also be used to promote unity.

Jinnah had to use vague Islamic references because Muslim League itself was a disorganised unit which contained people from every school of thought, the very reason why it collapsed just a few years after the creation of separate Pakistan and its founder's departure. Jinnah once claimed that the real Muslim League was only he, his office and his assistant. He was not only up against the Congress Party, RSS and Hindu Mahasabha and their Islamist lackeys, who declared him an infidel, but also the ignorance of his colleagues and followers. Let's first look at some of the statements made by religious groups against Jinnah's religious beliefs and secular views. After that, we'll look at the letters and demands of Jinnah's colleagues and followers. Finally, we'll see the response of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah to these statements and allegations.

Maulana Maududi of Jamat-e-Islami

"Creation of Pakistan is like the birth of a wild beast."
"Muhammad Ali Jinnah is a traitor."
"Religion forbids us to vote for the Muslim League."
"Muhammad Ali Jinnah... is a sinner of the highest order."
"Pakistan is the homeland of looters, murderers, whores and all sorts of cruel scum of the society."
"These elections are like a fight between different breeds of dogs."

"Muslim League has no fear of God. It's a mannerless party which has made this whole region dirtier than the public toilet."[2]

"Who are these Muslims, who are claiming to be a separate nation? Here, the crowd called Muslims is full of all sorts of rabble. There are as many types of characters in this as in any other heathen people."

"If you survey this so-called Muslim society, you will come across multifarious types of Muslims, of countless categories. This is a zoo with a collection of crows, kites, vultures, partridges and thousands of other types of birds. Every one of them is a 'sparrow'."

"Pity! From League's Quaid-e-Azam down to the lower cadres, there is not a single person who has an Islamic outlook and thinking and whose perspective on matters is Islamic."

"To pronounce these people fit for leading Muslims for the simple reason that are experts of Western type of politics and masters of Western organisational arts, and are deeply in love with their people, is a manifestation of an un-Islamic viewpoint and reflects ignorance of Islam."

"Even with a microscopic study of their practical life, and their thinking, ideology, political behaviour and style of leadership, one can find not a trace of Islamic character."

"In no Muslim League resolution, or in a speech by a responsible leader of the League it has been made clear that their final goal is of establishing an Islamic system of government. Those who believe that by freeing Muslim majority areas rule of Hindu majority, an Islamic government will be established here in a democratic setup, are wrong. In fact what will be achieved will be a heretical government by Muslims, indeed worse than that."[3]

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[2] Maududi's Articles, Statements, Writings and Book 'Tarjuman-ul-Quran'

[3] Jinnah: Myth and Reality, pp 172-173

Majlis-e-Ahrar

> "So he leaves his faith for a woman who was an infidel
> Should he be called the great leader or a great infidel?"[4]

Majlis-e-Ahrar was an anti-Shia group, that later declared Jihad against Jinnah. Some people in Frontier's region also followed this thinking. Some tribal leaders released a statement against Jinnah in the 1940s.

> "It has come to our knowledge that Mr. Jinnah is coming to Frontier Province... We must warn him that it will be a most unwise step for him to come to our territory because we consider Shias as enemies of Islam."[5]

When nothing else worked then Ahraris started claiming that Jinnah declared himself Imam Mehdi, to portray him as a blasphemer, in hopes of getting him killed by a mob of fanatics. Ahrar had Congress' backing, especially after the Lahore session. Rafi-Uddin Farooqi reported to Jinnah in a letter of 29 March 1940.

> "The activities of the Ahrars have been redoubled and every effort is being made to enlist as many members as possible. Even those Congressites who, being socialists or communists, had up to this time refrained from allying themselves to the activities of the Ahrars, are trying today to enlist members for the Ahrar Committee... In order to book these hired mercenaries for the Dehli Conference, money is being liberally advanced to the Ahrars by the Congress."[6]

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[4] From Jinnah to Zia by Justice Muhammad Munir
[5] SHIAS: ENEMIES OF ISLAM. Jinnah Unwelcome: Tribal Territory. Leaders' Warning. Jinnah Papers, v 2, p 366
[6] Rafi-Uddin Farooqi to M.A. Jinnah. Jinnah Papers, v 15, p 241

Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Hind

Jamiat's Chief Campaigner Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani ridiculed the idea of a non-theocratic State of Pakistan. He noted that the Asr-i-Jadid of Calcutta had quoted Jinnah as saying that Pakistan's constitution would be created by a Constituent Assembly elected by its people. Madani also referred to the Shahbaz of Lahore that carried an Urdu translation of Jinnah's interview to the News Chronicle of London, in which he likened Pakistan to European-style democracy. Jinnah had also made it clear that Pakistan's basic industries would be state-controlled thus economically making it more akin to a socialist state.

The Jamiat's ulama would go on to call Jinnah 'The Great Infidel'. Madani also pointed out that Jinnah did not particularly care for even the worldly needs of fellow Muslims. Jinnah founded a leading English Newspaper, Dawn, which highlighted the issues of Muslims and other minorities from their perspective. It was created through donations and Jinnah's investment. According to Madini, the staff of Jinnah's newspaper "included only three Muslims while it had six Hindus, two Christians, a Jew, and even a Qadiani such as Z.A Suleri". He gave away pamphlets citing the 'un-Islamic' moves of Jinnah.

> "Jinnah forced the Child Marriage Restraint Act upon Muslims with the government's help even though the ulema protested against such an imposition."
> "He supported amendments to the Civil Marriage Act allowing marriages between Muslims and non-Muslims even though he knew that such marriages were against the Quran."
> "He and Muslim League signed the Lucknow Pact of 1916 reducing the Muslims to legislative minorities in the provinces of Punjab and Bengal."
> "Muslim League and Jinnah did not condemn the government for shooting dead 47 Muslims who were part of a mob that

stormed the gates of graveyard when Abdul Qayyum was being buried."[7]

Abdul Qayyum was given the death sentence for killing someone over blasphemy and Jinnah didn't condemn his punishment. That didn't sit well with the Muslim clergy of India.

Khaksar Movement

This group launched two assassination attempts on Jinnah's life for not declaring Ahmadis as non-Muslims or committing to the creation of a theocratic state. The first assassination attempt was made in 1943 by Rafiq Sabir who sneaked into Jinnah House and attacked Jinnah with a dagger as he was coming out of his room with a cigar in his hand. Jinnah used his hands to defend himself but his shoulder and face were injured in the knife attacks before he was rescued by his guards.[8] The second attempt was made by a mob equipped with shovels, after the announcement of Mountbatten's June 3 plan in 1947. Jinnah was addressing at a hotel when several bloodthirsty people barged in with cries of "get Jinnah". Police intervened and used tear gas to disperse the crowd and prevent casualties.[9]

Jinnah's Followers and Colleagues

Self Proclaimed Left Wing Leaders: "I anticipate the rise of Islam, Pakistan causing and initiating it. The so called absurd religious wars would never occur now. The primary object of Pakistan would be to cause general awakening of the Muslim, making him an ideal and exemplary Muslim so that non Muslims may of their own accord be attracted towards Islam. This would mark the end of the world. This world would be no more as it would be transformed into a paradise...

[7] How the Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind Fought Against the Partition of India by Caravan Magazine
[8] Smokers' Corner: Man of action by Dawn
[9] Jinnah of Pakistan by Stanely Wolpert, p 329-330

Pakistan must be quite a separate sovereign Islamic Republic. Any idea of a common Hindu-Muslim centre with a particle of sovereignty surrendered to it will not be acceptable."[10]

H.J. Kazi: "As one of the true Muslims, I am taking the liberty of making the following suggestion... Under the provisions of the Child Marriage Restraint Act 1929, the marriageable age for a boy and a girl is fixed at 18 and 14, respectively... Under the Muslim law, a boy and a girl is considered as having reached puberty at the age of 15 and 12, respectively... I therefore request you to kindly consider moving an amending bill in the Central Assembly to reduce the age-limit of Muslim boys and girls to 15 and 12 years, respectively, so as to be in consonance with the mandates of Islam."[11]

Professor Abdus Sattar: "Mr. Jinnah, it is very necessary that we should be quite clear as to what Islam is... The Messenger of Allah is no more with us. We can obey him only by obeying Khalifa, his Ameer, the Leader of the Muslim nation. The destiny of the Muslim nation is to establish the sovereignty of Allah so that man be freed from rule of man or ruler... The leader of the Muslim nation, who leads the Muslim nation to its true and real destiny, can alone be called its true and real leader. The obedience of such a leader alone is Islam. If we do not have such a leader and if we do not obey such a leader, we are no more Muslims."[12]

Muhammad Hifzur Rehman of Jamiat: "Whatever I have up to this time placed before you, it was in the light of the Quranic precepts and for the general welfare of the Musalmans of India. I still believe that no political party from amongst the Musalmans has a right to bypass the religious obligations... A right decision can only emerge from a consultative body commissioned by the Quranic Law."[13]

Aziz Hindi: "The Musalmans will in no case be prepared to accept a constitution for Pakistan which will be based on the western type of

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[10] Jinnah Papers v 1 part 1, p 663
[11] H.J. Kazi to M.A. Jinnah. Jinnah Papers v 15, pp 176-177
[12] Professor Abdus Sattar to M.A. Jinnah. Jinnah Papers v 17, p 61
[13] Mohammad Hifzur Rehman to M.A. Jinnah. 2 May 1947. Jinnah Papers v 1 part 1, p 679

democracy... Western type of democracy is against the basic ideals and conception of Islamic life... If the Musalmans cannot build such a sovereign state exclusively for themselves in which their own laws and principles can be given effect to, then there is no need for such a bloody struggle to be continued any further... Islamic system does not concede the right of sovereignty to any community other than the Muslims, hence it does not recognise, on the same basis, any particular community living within the Islamic State as a minority."[14]

M.M.A. Khan: "Kindly see that Pakistan becomes a Muslim State on Khulfa e Rashideen pattern and not of modern type as Turkey or Iran. Our guide will be our holy Quran and Holy Prophet PBUH. I am sure, you know that Quran and Sunnah are competent forever to meet every need of every time. We should take no other guide."[15]

Jinnah's Response

"Islam and its idealism have taught democracy. Islam has taught equality, justice and fair play to everybody. What reason is there for anyone to fear democracy, equality, freedom on the highest standard of integrity and on the basis of fair play and justice for everybody?"[16]

"Islam stands for justice, equality, fair play, toleration and even generosity to non-Muslims who may be under our protection. They are like brothers to us and would be the citizens of the state."[17]

"In Islam there is no difference between man and man. The qualities of equality, liberty and fraternity are the fundamental principles of Islam."[18]

"The great majority of us are Muslims. We follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH. We are members of the brotherhood of

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[14] Aziz Hindi to M.A. Jinnah. 2 June 1947. Jinnah Papers v 1 part 1, pp 977-979.
[15] M.M.A. Khan to M.A. Jinnah. 24 June 1947. Jinnah Papers v 2, pp 438-439
[16] Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Speeches and Statements as Governor General, p 125
[17] Address at The Muslim University Union, Aligarh, 2 November 1941
[18] Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Speeches and Statements as Governor General, p 127

Islam in which all are equal in rights, dignity and self respect. Consequently, we have a special and a very deep sense of unity. But make no mistake; Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like it."[19]

Jinnah, most of the time, used the term 'Muslim State' to define Pakistan. However, a handful of times he also used the term 'Islamic State'. After 9/11, the colonial mindset started making people think of terrorist groups like ISIS or Al-Qaeda whenever someone mentioned the 'Islamic State'. Secular Muslims of today often disown these words and state that theirs is a 'Muslim State' and not an 'Islamic State'. This was not the case in the past, as both terms were used interchangeably, which is why Jinnah also called Turkey part of the 'Islamic World' even though it was secular. The proper word for a religious state is 'Theocracy'. Pandit Nehru also used to call Turkey an 'Islamic State', by which he barely meant a country where the followers of Islam, the Muslims, were in majority, despite the state on top being secular. In a letter to S.A. Latif, Nehru shared his views on Turkey.

> "Where democracy is creeping into the Islamic States, it is on the basis of modern scientific political theory which separates the state from religion, though keeping religion intact for the individual and the group. Turkey is an outstanding example of an Islamic State."[20]

Jinnah talked about Islamic State in a similar manner and then in the next sentences, immediately clarified what he meant by it. However, dishonest writers either distort them, take them out of context or remove sentences that follow. Let's take Jinnah's famous quote as an example.

"Pakistan is the premier Islamic State and the fifth largest in the world... The constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly... [But] it will be of a democratic type,

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[19] Ibid, pp 149-150
[20] Jawaharlal Nehru to S.A. Latif. 25 December 1939. Jinnah Papers v 15, p 33

embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1,300 years ago."

A dishonest writer would stop here when quoting Jinnah. In reality, Jinnah continued his address and explained what he meant by that.

> "Islam has taught equality of men, justice and fair play to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious traditions... In any case, Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic state to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. We have many non-Muslims... But they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizens and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan."[21]

Whenever Jinnah mentioned 'Islamic Principles', 'Islam' or 'Spirit of Islam', he connected these with the same three features mentioned earlier. Jinnah was leading a community in which 86% of the people were illiterate. He justified his secular ideals through vague statements about religion while never committing to the creation of a theocracy and compromising his position as a secular Muslim at the same time. Other than that, there is a speech and a letter in which he mentioned that Pakistan's constitution wouldn't clash with 'Shariat'. This too is taken out of context. We now know that in the late 1920s, Jinnah demanded 'Personal Laws' for every community of India in his fourteen points. His fourteen points played some role in the outcome of Round Table Conferences which then led to the Government of India Act 1935. These personal laws were then introduced in 1937 when the Government of India Act 1935 was fully implemented.

It had personal laws for every community which allowed them to live, marry, divorce and inherit properties according to their religion. The Muslim Personal Laws were part of the 'Shariat Application Act'. These laws are still part of Hindustan's constitution which is

[21] Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Speeches and Statements as Governor General, pp 155-157

considered secular. The said constitution also contains personal laws for Hindus, Sikhs, Christians and other religious groups. Such laws also exist in the West. No one prevents them from marrying in a Church in the presence of a priest, in their traditional way. Secularism merely means, not enforcing one's religious beliefs and way of life on others by force. When that is done through the state, it leads to chaos, corruption, hatred and disunity in the country. As long as it is not violating the essence of secularism, it is fine to mention, praise, preach and practice religion on an individual level for various purposes.

This is further backed by the rulings of an American Court. The court ruled that it was acceptable to use religion for promoting peace and unity, and such practices didn't threaten secularism. For example, Muslims can promote unity by quoting the Holy Quran that "there is no compulsion in religion". Interestingly, President George W. Bush used to recite the Holy Bible in the White House. That never damaged the non-theocratic or secular structure of their constitution. In the case of Pakistan, Munir-Kiyani Report from 1954 is considered one of the most secular documents in the country's history. Apart from Justice Muhammad Munir, Justice Rustam Kiyani was also responsible for its inception. Kiyani used to pray five times a day and read the Holy Quran in the morning before going to work, yet he was strictly against bringing religion into politics for personal gain.

Jinnah was a lawyer, who used terms that political scientists and 'academics' interpret from their perspective, instead of thinking like a lawyer or a legislator, the way Jinnah did. When he mentioned personal laws or 'Mussalman Laws' being under threat, he clarified in the following sentences that they were fighting against Brahmin Theocracy or a Caste Hindu Raj to preserve their way of living. He affirmed that Pakistan would allow Muslims to live according to their religion on an individual level but without ever becoming a theocratic state itself. Apart from these statements inspired by Protestantism and English Liberalism, which Jinnah used to justify his secular views in a conservative Muslim society, there are also his four decades of secular politics and countless other speeches and resolutions with no mention of religion whatsoever.

Apart from these references, there are two events regarding Jinnah's personal life that are often used by ultra-conservatives to prove that he wasn't secular, even though secularism merely means not using religion in state matters. In personal life, one can be conservative and secular politically. However, to put history in order, these events are still important to tackle. The first is about Ilm-ud-Din who killed a person over blasphemy. Propagandists claim that since Jinnah was his lawyer, he shared his views, while Jinnah wasn't his lawyer until he pleaded not guilty. In Jinnah's mind, he was protecting an innocent.

When asked if he was behind the murder, Ilm-ud-Din answered, "No." The next question was, "Why is this case against you?" He replied, "I am innocent, and cannot understand why I have been charged for this offence."[22] Jinnah decided to take this case after this point. However, Ilm-ud-Din was found guilty and given a death sentence. Jinnah, who believed in a fair trial, argued that due to his young age the criminal should be given life imprisonment instead but he was denied. This is same as a well-known lawyer and human rights activist Asma Jhangir's objection to military courts against Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan. Even though they were terrorists, she still believed that even they should be trialled properly in regular courts.

Similarly, Jinnah also fought the case of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who was a Hindu from the radical branch of Congress. That hardly made him sympathetic towards radical Caste Hindus or Hindu Raj. It was just to make sure that the person in question was being offered a fair trial. Remarkably, Jinnah had reservations about blasphemy laws. The original blasphemy law '295' was tabled to punish physical attacks on places of worship because they created divisions and led to riots. In 1926, derogatory articles were published against Prophet Muhammad PBUH, which led to massive rioting across India between Hindus and Muslims. This forced the British government to introduce '295A'.

Now, hate speech was also counted as a crime if it had the potential of leading to attacks on places of worship. When this amendment was being discussed, Jinnah, who supported criticism of religion in a

[22] Court Records. Lahore. 24-4-1929

civilized manner, argued that the government needed to make sure that this law was only being used to stop violence and not oppress genuine critics of religion. One needs to remember that back then the punishment for violation of 295A was some fine and/or two years of imprisonment. Jinnah was the only Muslim leader who raised his voice on this issue still.

> "I thoroughly endorse the principle that while this measure should aim at those undesirable persons who indulge in wanton vilification or attack upon the religion of any particular class or upon the founders and prophets of a religion, we must also secure this very important and fundamental principle that those who are engaged in historical works, those who are engaged in bona fide and honest criticism of a religion, shall be protected."[23]

The second event is about Jinnah's daughter. Some claim that she was disowned by her father because she married a non-Muslim businessman, Nivelle Wadia of The Wadia Group. Most people who use this argument quote M.C. Chagla's book 'Roses in December'. Chagla was Jinnah's assistant once. In 1928, during the days of the Nehru Report when Jinnah was also abroad with his dying wife, Chagla, from the platform of the Muslim League, ensured Congress that Muslim League would support joint electorates. When Jinnah returned, he called for separate electorates.

Due to Chagla's earlier statements, Congress refused to take Jinnah seriously. As a result, Jinnah became furious and sacked Chagla, who no longer remained part of Jinnah's personal life, hence, ignorant of his family issues. Chagla claimed that Jinnah only addressed his daughter as 'Mrs Wadia' and refused to acknowledge her as his own after marriage. This is simply untrue because soon after her marriage, Jinnah wrote his will, where he gave her a share in the property and also addressed her as his daughter.

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[23] 'Irwin to Birkenhead', 8 March 1928

> "I direct my Executors to set apart Rs 200,000 (two hundred thousand) which will at 6 per cent bring an income of Rs 1,000 (one thousand) and pay the income thereof whatever it be to my daughter every month for her life or during her lifetime and after her death the Corpus of two lakh so set apart to be divided equally between her children males or females."[24]

Initially, Jinnah wasn't thrilled about her daughter's choice because British India didn't allow interfaith marriages, which he tried to change decades ago but failed. So to marry, at least one of them had to denounce religion. Nivelle Wadia wasn't willing to embrace Islam, even just as a legal requirement, so this pushed Dina to denounce Islam, at least officially. According to ultra-conservatives, the punishment for apostasy was death. Jinnah, who was no stranger to ulama's criticism, and later assassination attempts, and led a movement for a 'Muslim homeland', didn't attend his daughter's marriage but congratulated her by sending flowers.

Years later, Dina rebuked Chagla's claims by calling them "a rumour". Her diary also supports her claims which shows that apart from initial hiccups, her relationship with her father remained well. Jinnah had plans to retire in Bombay with his daughter and grandchildren but Mountbatten's June 3 Plan forced him to leave for Pakistan. "My father was not a demonstrative man but he was an affectionate father," Dina recalled. "My last meeting with him took place in Bombay in 1946. When I was about to depart, my father hugged Nusli (his grandson)... Grey [Jinnah] cap caught Nusli's fancy and in a moment my father put it on Nusli's head saying, 'keep it, my boy.'" Jinnah's grandson, Nasli Wadia, still owns that cap.

[24] Jinnah Papers v 16, p 99

Chapter 9

The Oppressed Classes

Jinnah's solution to communal issues demanded power-sharing between two regions of British India through a shared centre, or treaties to safeguard minorities in both regions. On the other hand, Congress wanted a strong centre dominated by the majority. They believed that once the British were out, they'd find a solution to Muslim demands on their own, but the majority would rule. As one of the Congress leaders, Sundara Sastri Satyamurti, had once addressed non-Congress Muslims, "Popular government must come both in the provinces and Centre. The earlier the better... No Pakistan, no coalition ministries, no impossible safeguards. You must settle with the majorities."[1] This led to the battle between two political solutions: Jinnah's weak all-India centre with parity, at least during the interim period vs Congress' strong all-India centre with no parity.

Not all Muslims agreed with the first idea and not all Hindus saw the second one as the ultimate solution and vice versa. This was the reason why many non-Muslims including non-Caste Hindus, Christians, communists, socialists and other oppressed classes either started joining the Muslim League or became its allies after 1937. This also included Hindus from the Justice Party. They rebelled against the Brahmin monopoly on their economic lives and ended up demanding a separate state for the South Indians. Jinnah was sympathetic towards their suffering but refused to get involved in their movement. In a letter to the Justice Party's head, E.V. Ramaswami Naicker, on 17 August 1944, he said, "If they desire to establish their Dravidastan it is entirely for your people to decide on this matter. I can say no more, and certainly, I cannot speak on your behalf."

However, this showed that things were quite complicated in the Indian subcontinent and even some Hindu groups were forced to take extreme positions to counter Congress' desire to have a strong centre. Dr Reddy, a Hindu, wrote, "Jinnah is pride of India and not private possession of the

[1] Jinnah Papers v 15, p 363

Muslims." Sir James, a Christian, wrote, "He is first class strategist and incorruptible." Sir R.K. Shanmukhan Chitty, another Hindu wrote, "Mr. Jinnah is a realistic patriot… He yields to none in his enthusiasm to obtain the political emancipation of his country." Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, a Parsi added, "He has never put self or his own interests before those of his country." Ram Rai, a Hindu Leaguer, stated, "Quaid e Azam, Jinnah Sahib, please be our country's Ataturk."

M.C. Rajah, a leader of Dalit Hindus, to M.A. Jinnah

"All religions hold the belief that God sends suitable men into the world to work out his plans from time to time, and at critical junctures. I regard Mr Jinnah as the man who has been called upon to correct the wrong ways into which the people of India have been led by the Congress, under the leadership of Mr Gandhi.

The Congress did a great service to the country so long as it followed the lines of critical cooperation and cooperative criticism towards the British Government, as laid down by Dadabhai Naoroji and Gokhale. But it took a wrong turn when it adopted wholesale the non cooperation programme of Mr Gandhi and assumed an attitude of open hostility towards Britain, and tried to infuse in the minds of the people a spirit of defiance of law and civil disobedience, more or less thinly veiled under a formula of truth and non-violence.

Moreover, by Mahatmafying Mr Gandhi, it appealed to the idolatrous superstitions of the Hindus, thus converting the religious adherence of the Hindu section of the population to the Mahatma into political support of his non cooperation programme. While this strategy was of some avail in hustling the British Government to yield more and more to the demands of Congress, it divided the people into Hindu and non Hindu sections.

In these circumstances, a man was needed to stand up to Congress and tell its leaders that their organization, however powerful numerically and financially, does not represent the whole of India. I admire Mr Jinnah and feel grateful to him because, in advocating the cause of the Muslims, he is championing the claims of all classes who stand the danger of being

crushed under the steam roller of a Caste Hindu Majority, acting under the inspiration and orders of Mr Gandhi."[2]

Dukhrai Basi to M.A. Jinnah

"You will no doubt be surprised to get a letter from a Christian because outwardly we don't show much interest in politics. I have been following your brave fight on behalf of the minorities, and hence I want to congratulate you most heartily, and may I dare to wish you Godspeed and pray for blessings on you, even though I am much younger than you are in age and in experience. We are all aware of the injustices done to the minorities by the Congress. The Christians are sufferers no less than the others. We are bearing up because of the teachings we have before us. We are being oppressed and neglected badly. In many cases the Congress has stooped down to sheer meanness and selfishness.

Most of them are out for money making by foul means... They seek and create employment only for a Congressman... They are determined to see a Muslim or a Christian out of job regardless of their worth and qualification... They would rather see a worthless of man or a woman get an office and rejoice at the injustice done to the minorities. If the Christians will suffer at their hands and be deprived of their rightful dues, then we shall stand 100 per cent by the Muslim League and their efforts. Do continue with your fight for the right until the injustices are removed.

I wish the Christians will also come forward and express their many grievances, and pray for justice and deliverance from such misrule and ruthlessness as we minorities have experienced within the last two years or so. Even though the Christians may be very few in numbers, the Congress cannot overlook their support. India can witness a very far reaching effect on the result of mistreatment and injustice done to the Christians... Wish you all the success in your attempt to deliver the minorities from suffering and injustices at the hands of the Congress. I want to assure you of the support of the millions of people."[3]

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[2] Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan by Hector Bolitho

[3] 31 January 1940. Jinnah Papers v 15, pp 95-96

Baba Kishan Singh to M.A. Jinnah

"Sir, you might have heard about the struggle that has been waging between us and the Shromani Prabandak Gurdwara Committee, about our legitimate rights as Sikhs. I have so far failed badly to satisfy us, and it has not even granted us the right of drawing water from the wells as our Sikh brethren do. We have been harassed wherever we have gone, and we have always been looked down upon with contempt from the Sikhs of the higher Castes. We understand that you are taking up the cause of the minority communities and so we approach you with a request. If our community, the Mazbhi Sikhs, accept Islam, will you grant us full concessions of Islam, and treat us as your equals in every respect? On hearing from you the matter will be further discussed and a candid reply will be submitted to you on your arrival in Lahore for the session of the All India Muslim League."[4]

A. Krishnaswami to M.A. Jinnah

"May I wish you sound health and victory during the coming months which are invested with great significance for the minorities, the non-Brahmins and the Muslims. I trust that the Liberator reaches you every day. The situation has altered in Madras very much in our favour, but it has slightly deteriorated in Hyderabad, where Congress industrialists are getting fresh concessions and the Scheduled Castes and non-Brahmins are becoming restive. Some of the non-Brahmins have joined the Communist movement in sheer despair."[5]

The Pioneer's Article by a Christian

"The Congress is purely a Hindu organisation, its motto is solely selfish to achieve long-lost Hindu Raj. They show that they are fighting for the independence of India. No. It's just a farce. Once they gain their

[4] 2 March 1940. Ibid, p 185, 24 March 1947. Jinnah Papers v 1 part 1, pp 389-390
[5] 27 February 1947. Ibid, p 117

objective, they will not even look at Christians but will kick them like South Africans are kicking Indians... Mr Jinnah is the only leader of India who has been able to see them through their selfish hearts and has given a warning to all... The Congress leaders are simply greedy of pomp and show but they will not care even to reply to the letter of a starving or dying Christian... Famous leader of the Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,... has no time to look into the grievances of any poor individual if approached... If a Hindu is caught for corruption, he is overlooked but others are brought to book immediately... The Hindu Congress will surely vanish from India like Hitler's Nazism."[6]

L. Lobo to M.A. Jinnah

"I am intensely happy to be in the knowledge that the League is open to members of the Minorities as well and it is the dearest wish of my heart to be a partner in such a worthy organisation. I therefore approach you with the pledge that henceforth I shall dedicate my services to the cause of the Muslims and the Minorities... I am convinced that the Congress is on the wrong road to freedom and the only road to liberation is the one leading to Pakistan... The Congress is predominantly a Hindu organisation having primarily a different racial attitude towards us and all the love in the world cannot wholly take away that knowledge from us. We shall not let them transform our country into a Bania Rule but shall stand united to crush Congress piracy."[7]

Musafar Karamchand to M.A. Jinnah

"The way the Congress governments behaved no decent person will have anything to do with it. You will go down to posterity as the great Indian who saved the non-Brahmins from a great catastrophe. But for you the British would by this time have handed us over to the tender mercies of a Brahmin junta as ruthless as the Hitlerian one... I am a

[6] Pioneer Article 'Warning to Indian Christians'. 1946
[7] 18 March 1947. Jinnah Papers v 1 part 1, pp 281-282

non-Brahmin Hindu but have no religious complex... I assure you that the whole of non-Brahmin India is behind you. But for your firm attitude the humbug of a Mahatma would have threatened the Government of India into a surrender of authority into the hands of his myrmidons. We had had no end of trouble with the Congress Government. The Ministers proved absolute strangers to truth and non-violence and decency."[8]

A.B. Tribhuwan to M.A. Jinnah

"The Working Committee of the Ahmednagar Christian League desires me to write and convey to you our sincere greetings on your birthday... I pray that the Great God will bless you richly and be your Guide during this new year in all your undertakings, not only for the Muslims of India but all other minorities that need protection and safeguards... I may mention here that on the Deliverance Day, appointed by you after the Congress went out of office, I attended the local meeting organized by the Muslim League here and gave a public speech supporting your plan... An overwhelming majority of our people are not merely suspicious but clearly positive of the tyrannical treatment they would receive at the hands of the Congress... We, therefore, greatly admire the gallant fight that you are putting up for the minority communities."[9]

Scheduled Caste Federation's Report for March 1947

"It is stated therein that one Suppiah Thevar, caste Hindu, one day went to the District Board School at Naduwakkulam where he was touched by four year old son of school master who is from Scheduled Caste. Thevar considered himself polluted and wiped the boy mercilessly... Later he came back with six other companions... Raiding party dealt severe blows at school master's face.

[8] 22 June 1940. Jinnah Papers v 15, pp 461-462
[9] 24 December 1940. Jinnah Papers v 16, pp 151-152

Another Scheduled Caste young man of Bulandshahr in UP was ordered by a caste Hindu zamindar to employ his bullock cart... The man couldn't comply... This enraged zamindar so much that he had man dragged to his house and had him severely beaten... After which scheduled caste man was tied down with ropes to prevent his going and reporting the matter.

District of Rohtak – Punjab: High Caste Hindus demanded that chamars (Dalits) should sell them shoes at Rs 3... When Scheduled Caste people stated that the sum of Rs 3 wouldn't even cover the cost of the material, they were fined Rs 50 which was immediately demanded... Then they were severely thrashed and subsequently subjected to social and economic boycott which meant that they couldn't get anything from local bazar nor could they get any employment.

The Dalits of the village of Kheria refused to do 'begaar' for Caste Hindus. This enraged the latter and on 7th March, the caste Hindus assembled together and indulged in rioting and arson of the Scheduled Caste villages. Dalits were attacked with spears and other deadly weapons and their houses were set on fire... There is an apprehension among the Scheduled Caste people that the Congress Government might not take proper action.

Bulandshahr: 27 March 1947 – The Dalits who refused to do free forced labour for the Caste Hindus were attacked with spears, rifles and pistols. Eight Scheduled Caste people were killed on the spot, twelve seriously injured.

Madras: Dalit cremated the dead body of his son in public municipal crematorium... Criminal case against the man led to his conviction for six months.

Before I conclude I feel I must give one or two of the several instances of tyranny and atrocious deeds perpetrated on poor Dalits by the Caste Hindu Congressmen during the last general elections to the provincial legislatures in March 1946, for no other reason than the Scheduled Castes did not exercise their own right of franchise according to dictates of the Caste Hindus.

During my last visit to Agra in UP on the 8th March 1947, I visited locality known as Wazirpura and saw for myself the fifteen houses that

were burnt to ashes with all their property inside, by the Caste Hindu Congressmen on the eve of elections.

The Scheduled Caste people of that area had refused to vote for the Congress and actually voted for All India Scheduled Castes Federation. A complaint was lodged with the authorities but nothing has yet been done. For identical reasons, the Scheduled Caste people of Mohallah of City of Nagpur in UP were attacked by the Caste Hindu Congressmen which resulted in the death of one Scheduled Caste leader and serious injuries to several others. Both the provinces are being governed by Congress Ministries.

I hope that the few facts stated above will give the people overseas an idea of how the 70 million Untouchables people are being treated by the Caste Hindus and their great political organisation, the Indian National Congress, even in the year 1947 when India is about to attain her independence and liberty. Much has been declared to the people of the Western countries by the Congress and their propagandists abroad that there is scarcely anything as untouchability in India and the Dalits of India do not suffer from any social disabilities but I leave it to the people abroad to consider and judge for themselves as to what has been done for the Scheduled Castes of India till now by the so called Harijan movement of Mr. Gandhi towards their economic, social and political emancipation."[10]

Jinnah's Economic Plan to Uplift Lower Classes

Jinnah hated the exploitation of the masses by the landlords. He considered their practices wicked and vicious, "The exploitation of the masses... has gone into their blood... Greed and selfishness have made people subordinate to the interests of others in order to fatten themselves."[11]11 He was deeply concerned about the poverty and backwardness of Muslim India region as well as poor distribution of wealth, "There are millions and millions of our people who hardly get

[10] 21 April 1947. Note by J.N. Mandal on Treatment of Scheduled Castes by Caste Hindus. Jinnah Papers v 1 part 1, pp 584-587

[11] Jinnah Papers v 2, p xxxv

one meal a day. Is this civilization? Is this the aim of Pakistan? Do you visualize that millions have been exploited and cannot get one meal a day? If that is the idea of Pakistan, I would not have it."[12]

Then there was corruption. Jinnah criticised the elite and educated lot for taking bribes, "Corruption is a curse in India and amongst Muslims, especially the so-called educated and intelligentsia. Unfortunately, it is this class that is selfish and morally and intellectually corrupt. No doubt this disease is common, but amongst this particular class of Muslims it is rampant."[13]

Jinnah probably considered theocracy a by-product of neo-capitalism. In many cases that's true as well, since the political use of religion is often treated like a business in such states if there are no proper checks and balances. The clergy takes advantage of people's superstitions and keeps them backwards by misusing religion in politics, which makes it easier for them to remain in power and get wealthy while they are at it. Sometimes they do it alone or by shaking hands with the ruling elite or the feudal lords. This might be the reason why Jinnah linked the economic system with secularism at Dehli in 1946, as he declared, "Pakistan will be a Socialist State. It will not be a Theocratic State."[14]

He wanted free education, labour rights and an egalitarian society. Jinnah knew that the economically backward region of Muslim India was a wasteland for industrialised regions of Hindu India. He created a five-year plan, which included the building up of the 'Departments of National Life of Muslim India' for the educational, social and economic uplift of the Muslims. He encouraged people to set up industries in the region, as early as 1943 and concluded, "So long as a nation is weak economically, it cannot hope to win the battle of life."[15]

In the December of the same year, he appointed a Planning Committee of professional economists and businessmen. This committee was charged with appraising the economic condition of

[12] Ibid
[13] M.A. Jinnah to Ispahani. 6 May 1945
[14] Jinnah Papers v 1 part 1, p 446
[15] Jinnah Papers v 2, p xxxvi

Pakistan areas to prepare the Muslim League "to participate in the national developments in the directions of commercial and agricultural expansion, and industrialization" and thus be ready "for a gigantic and coordinated drive in the field of economic reconstruction, and in the post war reconstruction". Jinnah installed 'The Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce' in 1944 which encouraged people to take part in economic enterprises and commercial ventures. He launched Dawn Newspaper in the early 1940s by spending his own money, with extra help from the general Indian public to tell the story of those who remained unheard for decades.

He encouraged the establishment of the Muslim Commercial Bank, a Muslim Bank in Singapore, and branches of the Habib Bank in Bopal and Assam. Muhammadi Steamship Company was launched on his urge. He backed Orient Airways, which later became PIA. Jinnah wanted a Modern State with a solid economy which would treat its citizens fairly and provide economic benefits through a welfare system. During the opening of Valika Textile Mills in Karachi, he reminded people of the importance of treating the working class with justice, "I also hope that in planning your factory, you have provided for proper residential accommodation and other amenities for workers, for no industry can thrive without contented labour."[16]

[16] Jinnah's Address. 26 September 1947

Chapter 9

Desertions and Factions

The Congress Party had a right-wing internally, on top of a separate alt-right and para-military group, Hindu Mahasabha. Congress tried its best to appear secular and nationalist to seize the centre for itself and called others 'communal' for raising voices for their communities. Meanwhile, Hindu Mahasabha was used to keep the minorities in line through violence at the same time. Jinnah once stated that Congress leaders called him communal for wanting to uplift the social, economic, and political conditions of the minorities, and if that made a man communal, then he was proud to be one. Jinnah considered Hindu-Muslim issue political instead of religious.

> "This is a question of minorities and it is a political issue… Now what are the minorities? Minorities mean a combination of things. It may be that a minority has a different religion from the other citizen of a country. Their language may be different, their race may be different, their culture may be different, and the combination of all these elements. Religion, culture, race, language, art, music and so forth make the minority a separate entity in the state, and that separate entity wants safeguards. Surely, therefore, we must face this question as a political problem, we must solve it and not evade it."[1]

Jinnah's so-called Pakistan demand was also approached from the same perspective. In the 1930s, Punjab province, the main battleground, was dominated by the Unionist Party, which contained the wealthiest Muslim landlords in India. Their leader Fazl-e-Hussain died in 1936 and the party was taken over by Sikandar Hayat Khan. Bengal, the second most important province in Muslim India, was divided between the elites of Western zones and the working class of Eastern zones. Sindh was home to several factions. NWFP was the

[1] Jinnah's speech in the central assembly. 7 February 1935

centre of several tribes but politically it was a Congress stronghold because Red Shirts were in alliance with Gandhi.

Jinnah couldn't win in these provinces during the 1937's elections, yet he needed their support if he was to secure safeguards for Muslims in the Hindustan region. Provincial leaders of Muslim India or Pakistan region didn't care much about anything else other than what was happening within their provinces. They had some autonomy and the blessing of the British Empire, which was enough for them. Congress' rule of 1937, however, forced some of them to re-consider their future in the independent subcontinent, which was to be dominated by Congress, a party aiming for a strong centre. On the other hand, Jinnah assured Viceroy that his followers wouldn't go against the government during World War 2, and in exchange they expected concessions.

This pushed leaders of Muslim provinces to rally behind Jinnah and accept him as the 'Sole Spokesman for the Muslims of India'. Most of them didn't share Jinnah's ambitions. They were trying to safeguard their own interests through him. Muslim League was hardly an organised unit. It was a combination of several parties with conflicting ideas under the League's banner. Jinnah didn't interfere in their provincial matters as long as they gave him the mandate to speak for the minorities in the centre.

In Punjab, Unionist Party came under Muslim League's flag. In Bengal, Fazlul Huq's Krishak Praja Party had a great influence, especially in the Eastern zones of the province. The party claimed to be the voice of the peasants in Bengal. In 1936, United Muslim Party was created, which contained landlords, elites and some businessmen. Prominent politicians like Akram Khan, Abdur Rahim and H.S. Suhrawardy joined this new party. However, United Muslim Party had no proper organisation.

It also lacked support in the Eastern zones of Bengal where Huq had much greater control. To survive in Bengal, they decided to join the League which was claimed to be the only real voice of all Indian Muslims. This later also forced Huq to come under the umbrella of All-India Muslim League as well, despite having different political views

than the United Muslim Party. This trend further escalated after 1940's Lahore Resolution as Jinnah opened the League for every citizen.

According to League's new policy, any Muslim ready to accept the League's creed, policy and programme or simply that the League spoke for him at the centre, whatever his political persuasion, was no longer anything else but a Leaguer. With so few in his camp, Jinnah had no option except to fling the gates wide open to all. Any Muslim who now gave the League his nominal allegiance became a Leaguer on an equal footing with those who had worked for the party in the past. League now contained Muslims, Hindus, Christians, communists, socialists, liberals, moderates, civil servants, conservatives and so forth.

Because of this new direction, Jinnah's support increased on paper which gave him more power for negotiations in the centre but many new individuals didn't agree with his views and long-term goals. They joined the party for their own survival and were ready to change their allegiances if someone else came up with a better offer. These people and their supporters on the lower level also had their own interpretation of 'Pakistan', a name officially adopted by the Muslim League for its movement later on.

During the same period, Congress started its new civil disobedience movement which was to turn into the 'Quit India Movement' in 1942, yet another mass mobilisation by Gandhi which failed to produce any results, other than radicalising the society further. All prominent leaders of Congress were arrested during this period and only released in 1945, a few months before the fresh elections as the war and the British rule in the Indian subcontinent were coming to an end. Gandhi became sick during imprisonment, hence, he was moved to Agha Khan's residence in 1944, where he more or less remained under house arrest. During this period, in the absence of Congress' prominent leaders, Jinnah was trying to build up his party and turn it into a mass movement, something which Nehru assumed he wasn't capable of achieving just a couple of years ago. Muslim League also formed and strengthened its para-military wing, 'Muslim League National Guard', to counter thuggish elements of RSS and Hindu Mahasabha.

As Muslim League's popularity and so-called 'Pakistan Demand' was gaining momentum, Sikandar Hayat Khan's allies in Sikh and Caste Hindu community, along with Khalsa Nationalist Party asked him to depart from Muslim League. To keep his cross-communal ministry intact, Sikandar refused to attend Pakistan Conference in March of 1941 and resigned from Muslim League Working Committee the following year. He was most probably going to ally himself with the Congress but he died soon after he departed from Muslim League. The Unionist Party was taken over by Khizar Hayat Tiwana. So, Punjab continued to be ruled by the Unionists under its new pro-Congress ruler.

Ironically, Sikandar's son, Shaukat Hayat Khan joined Muslim League. While this was unfolding in Punjab between 1940 and 1942, in Bengal Suhrawardy started a revolt against 'less cooperative' Bengal's premier Fazlul Huq, a fellow Leaguer, and managed to bring his ministry down. Governor, however, invited Huq again to form a new ministry. Now Bengal Government had a new Finance Minister, a fanatic from Hindu Mahasabha named S.P. Mookerji. Such was the nature of the Muslim League in provinces, where one opportunist fought another to seize power. Sometimes certain factions went rogue or refused to cooperate with the main body.

Whenever things went out of control, they contacted Jinnah to stop in-house fighting. He either maintained his silence or told them to solve their issues on their own. He waited for one of them to come on top, and things continued as usual. Jinnah refused to back one faction over the other because his interference would've driven a wedge between him and the factions he refused to support, leading to the complete collapse of his party if it could be called a 'party' to begin with. He just needed a mandate from Muslim provinces for the negotiations. Huq's new ministry also continued to come under attack as no-confidence resolutions were moved against him one after another.

Due to the war, the whole of India, including Bengal was facing a rise in food prices. This made Huq unpopular amongst the masses. S.M. Mookerji also abandoned the sinking ship by resigning from his position. After the ouster of Fazlul Huq, Khawaja Nazimuddin managed to form a ministry in Bengal by shaking hands with the

Hindus. Now Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy's rivalry began in Bengal, even though both were Leaguers. This can't always be seen as a fight between pure evil and good, as everyone was a politician and unfortunately that's what politicians always did and still do, especially in our subcontinent.

Jinnah refused to interfere here as well but deep down he trusted Nazimuddin more than Suhrawardy, even though the former was conservative while the latter was liberal. Suhrawardy, being a secular Muslim politician, also believed that Islam stood for liberty, fraternity, equality and brotherhood, the basic pillars of any secular democracy. However, Jinnah still preferred Nazimuddin because he assumed that he would prioritise his duties over personal views more than the others. Nazimuddin didn't consider religion a private matter or Ahmadis Muslims but he still protected them by deploying the army as a Prime Minister of Dominion of Pakistan in 1953 against Majlis-e-Amal, an anti-Ahmadi movement headed by Majlis-e-Ahrar and Jamat-e-Islami. Meanwhile, there had been leaders in our country who identified themselves as liberals or leftists but that didn't prevent them from using religion for political gains.

As for Nazimuddin's ministry, World War 2 didn't spare him either. His popularity declined as famine engulfed Bengal, which ended up killing around three million people. This, along with the rivalry within the party, led to the end of Nazimuddin's tenure in early 1945. As a result, the governor took charge of the province under Section 93. Now Jinnah had no control over the second most important province in Muslim India just a few months before the elections either. On the other hand, despite their political differences and rivalry, Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy embraced each other and broke down in tears due to the plight of their people in Bengal. Witnesses describe this as one of the most heartwarming moments during Bengal's dark period.[2]

In the early 1940s, Allah Baksh's ministry in Sindh was barely surviving because of support from Congress. In October of 1942, Sindh's Governor, Sir Hugh Dow, dismissed Baksh's ministry and

[2] The Sole Spokesman by Ayesha Jalal

called Ghulam Hussain to form a new ministry. Ghulam Hussain opposed Lahore Resolution, yet Sindh League had no choice but to embrace him as their own since they lacked influence in the province. Sindh was home to several factions, parties and political as well as religious groups. Apart from Ghulam Hussain, G.M. Syed, Mir Bandeh Ali Khan and K.B. Khuhro were some of the other major players in Sindh's mainstream politics.

However, almost all of them were more or less "crooks" according to Sindh's governor, who rightly concluded that Jinnah hated all of them and considered them a bunch of sellouts; yet, he had no choice but to let the events unfold on their own and see what could be salvaged from it later on. Khuhro was then the president of the Sindh League, who now, along with G.M. Syed, wanted to oust Ghulam Hussain who had come under the League's banner not so long ago. Both Khuhro and Syed considered him unfit to rule Sindh. While they were thinking about Hussain's ouster, former Premier of Sindh, Allah Baksh got murdered under mysterious circumstances. This led to chaos in the province.

Jinnah feared that some might take advantage of this situation to oust League's so-called ministry in Sindh, which in itself was nothing more than a facade to make everyone think that the people were rallying behind Jinnah and Pakistan Demand, while in reality, Jinnah had very little influence over Sindh. Some suggested that Allah Baksh's son Maula Baksh from Sindh Itehad Party should be his new successor. This led to desertions in League's camp and several joined Maula Baksh's party, while the other Leaguers who stayed either supported Hussain or were still eager to bring him down. Different factions started to discredit one another by issuing fatwas through pirs and mullahs. Jinnah tried to stay away from the debacle. However, once he commented on opportunists and right-wing Muslims stating that he believed none of them but had to "carry these fools along".

Due to the 'Quit India Movement' and the resignations that followed it, NWFP was under Governor's rule in 1942, yet the governor was considering an alternative. He started looking for government-friendly people, who in this case also included people from

Provincial Muslim League who unlike Congress and their allies, the Red Shirts, didn't take part in the movement against the British government. Aurangzeb Khan and his other supporters from Muslim League tried to persuade the governor to let the former take the helm in the province. But he still lacked support and needed an extra hand from the Sikhs and the Caste Hindus, who were not going to join him if Aurangzeb only had Pakistan to offer in exchange. He got some breathing room because the governor was keeping Congress at bay. Aurangzeb ended up buying some much-needed supporters by spending his cash and became the new Premier of the province. However, it was a weak ministry.

Hence, he faced rivalry with another Leaguer, Khan Bahadur Sadullah, who considered the current ministry too weak to further their cause. He asked Jinnah to back him up. As usual, Jinnah told them to sort their issues out on their own and kept himself away from the hornet's nest. In comparison, Congress was a lot more organised and well-funded across British India, and NWFP was no exception. Congress started funding different factions, tribes and troublemakers in the province which led to slaughter, bloodshed and desertion. Amidst the Chaos, 'Frontier's Gandhi' Bacha Khan's brother, Dr Khan Sahib of Red Shirts, managed to form a new ministry in March of 1945 and NWFP once again became a Congress stronghold. So, before the elections, Jinnah faced factionalism in Sindh, while he had no ministry in Punjab, NWFP and Bengal.

Chapter 11

The Status Quo

Jinnah was a staunch secular politician living in an extremely backward society. In 1937, he criticised the political role of mullahs during his address at Aligarh and promoted women's empowerment.

> "What the League has done is to set you free from the reactionary elements of Muslims and to create the opinion that those who play their selfish game are traitors. It has certainly freed you from the undesirable elements of Maulvis and Maulanas. I am not speaking of Maulvis as a whole class. There are some of them who are as patriotic and sincere as any other; but there is a section of them which is undesirable. Having freed ourselves from the clutches of the British Government, the Congress, the reactionaries and so-called Maulvis, may I appeal to the youth to emancipate our women. This is essential."

On another occasion, he touched the same subject and highlighted deeply rooted sexism in the subcontinent, especially in Muslim-majority areas.

> "We are victims of evil customs. It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the houses as prisoners. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable condition in which our women have to live."[1]

When Jinnah brought Muslim women into politics, he was greatly criticised by some of his colleagues for it being 'against their culture'. He ignored such arguments and backed the Second Wave of Feminism in Muslim India, which aimed to bring women into workplaces and politics. While Jinnah preferred a purdah-free society and women next to men, he was also fine with those who wanted to stay at home and remain under a purdah by choice. To promote female education, Jinnah

[1] Speech at a meeting of the Muslim University Union, Aligarh, March 10, 1944

contributed thousands of Rupees to the 'Sind Madressah Board'.[2] In 1936, Iqbal, who was famous in Punjab, wrote a letter to Nehru in which he called Ahmadis "traitors to Islam". Jinnah on the other hand addressed Sir Zafarullah Khan in 1939 and shared different views about his community.

> "Before I proceed further, I wish to record my sense of appreciation – and if I may say so, coming from my party – to the Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan, who is a Muslim and it may be said that I am flattering my own son. But I must endorse fully the congratulations that he has received from various quarters."[3]

Jinnah was approached by several, asking him to declare Ahmadis non-Muslims. His answer was, "Who am I to call them non-Muslim when they call themselves Muslim?" Jinnah was well aware of intolerance amongst Muslims and their habit of destructive criticism. "This is the cause of our having gone down as a Nation," complained Jinnah while continuing, "... if a Mussalman is displeased in however small a matter, his temper is uncontrollable and he does not make any allowance for the point of view of the other side... but condemns him without any explanation, unheard and in the strongest terms."[4] In 1939, upon Ataturk's death, he asked Muslims of India to observe 'Kemal Day'.

> "I request provincial, District and Primary Muslim Leagues all over India to observe Friday the 16th of November as Kemal Day and hold public meetings to express deepest feeling of sorrow and sympathy of Mussalmans of India in the irreparable loss that the Turkish Nation has suffered in the passing away of one of the greatest sons of Islam and a world figure and the saviour and maker of Modern Turkey, Kemal Ataturk."[5]

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[2] Statements, Speeches and Messages of Quaid-e-Azam - 1939, p 973
[3] Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Nation's voice, towards consolidation, Speeches and Statements 1935-1940, p 307
[4] Ibid, p 327
[5] Quaid e Azam and the Islamic World by R. Ahmed, p 12

Even though Jinnah's methods and interpretation of secularism were different from that of Ataturk, he still admired him for turning Turkey into a modern state. "Mustafa Kemal Ataturk," said Jinnah, "was the foremost figure in the Muslim East. In Iran and Afghanistan, in Egypt and, of course, in Turkey, he demonstrated to the consternation of the rest of the world that Muslim nations were coming into their own. In Kemal Ataturk the Islamic World has lost a great hero."[6] On another occasion, he addressed Ataturk as a Muslim, even though he was non-religious.

> "He was the greatest Mussalman in the modern Islamic World and I am sure that the entire Mussalman world will deeply mourn his passing away. It is impossible to express adequately in a press interview one's appreciation of his remarkable and varied services, as the builder and the maker of modern Turkey and an example to the rest of the world, especially to the Mussalman States in the Far East.

The remarkable way in which he rescued and built up his people against all odds, has no parallel in the history of the world. He must have derived the greatest sense of satisfaction that he fully accomplished his mission during his life-time and left his people and his country consolidated, united and a powerful nation. In him, not only the Mussalmans but the whole world have lost one of the greatest men that ever lived."[7]

In 1940, when Anatolia, Turkey, was hit by an earthquake, Jinnah helped set up a programme to financially aid the affectees. He asked Indian Muslims to help their Muslim brethren in Turkey.[8] Jinnah justified his previous statements and current actions in front of his conservative followers by claiming that the secular State of Turkey was not in conflict with the Islamic Principles of social justice, equality and

[6] 11 January 1940. M.A. Jinnah to Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman. Jinnah Papers v 15, p 39
[7] 13 August 1941. Mazharuddin Siddiqi to M.A. Jinnah. Jinnah Papers v 17, pp 65-66
[8] Ibid, p 67

brotherhood. He was heavily criticised in return. One such example is the letter written by Muzharuddin Siddiqi from Hyderabad, Deccan.

> "We felt that there was some misunderstanding in your mind as regards the Turkish State which you still seem to think as being founded upon true Islamic principles. You spoke of Turkey as not having violated the fundamental principles of Islam. To clear this misconception we have taken the liberty to address this letter to you. In the first place, Turkey has unequivocally declared that it has no state religion...

This is direct challenge to the authority of the Quran... Islam has clearly prohibited the free social intercourse of men and women... Turkey has unmistakably violated this injunction... [Turkey] has asked women to step out of their homes and work side by side with men in every walk of life. This is clear violation... Similarly, Turkey has rebelled against the authority of the Quran in respect of the punishment which should be meted out to drunkards, thieves and those guilty of adultery."[9]

> Then he criticised imprisonment and praised the punishment for thieving in Islam, which meant a "simple process of cutting the hand of the criminal".[10] According to him, the law of Islam was complete and there was no room for further legislation by the people. He criticised democracy and civil liberties that came after Protestantism because, according to him, they were behind the conflict that "destroyed the soul of Western Civilization".[11]

In 1944, Jinnah got an article published in Dawn Newspaper which encouraged Ahmadis to join Muslim League. Jinnah also prevented his followers from creating controversies over sensitive issues because

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[9] Ibid
[10] Jinnah Papers v 2, pp 132-133
[11] Interview to Daily Worker, London, 1944

they could lead to sectarianism. During the Sunni-Shia riots in Lucknow, he addressed the people, "There are amongst you those who are killing and destroying each other because of sectarian differences – evil and corrupt elements who do not deserve to live. It is better for the nation to get rid of them."[12] He dismissed those who didn't want a democratic state.

> "Muslims in Pakistan want to be able to establish their own real democratic popular government. This government will have the sanction... of the people of Pakistan and will function with the will and sanction of the entire body of people in Pakistan, irrespective of caste or colour."[13]

Even in the 1940s, he continued to encourage his colleagues to read John Morley's 'On Compromise'. Jinnah was a liberal from top to bottom just like the people who inspired him. John Morley was one of those.

"Minorities can rest assured that their rights will be protected. No civilized Government can be run successfully without giving minorities a complete sense of security and confidence. They must be made to feel that they have a hand in government and to do this they must have adequate representation in it. Pakistan will give this."[14]

Raja of Mehmudabad, during his speech, claimed that Pakistan would be an Islamic State based on Sharia Law. Jinnah responded by stating that there were over seventy sects of Islam and the creation of a religious state would lead to a clash amongst Muslims over the definition of 'real Islam'. Hence, Pakistan would be a "Liberal Democratic Muslim State".[15]

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[12] Interview with APA representative, Bombay, 8 November 1945
[13] Isha'at Habibullah, Autobiography
[14] Mushir-ul-Hassan, India's Partition-Process, Strategy and Mobilisation, pp 415-426
[15] The Making of Pakistan (Documentary) by Akbar S Ahmed and Christopher Mitchell

Jinnah excused Raja of Mehmudabad from the League for two years for promoting the idea of a religious state from the platform of the Muslim League High Command, even though he was funding Muslim League's campaigns. Jinnah didn't want the people to get the impression that he shared those views as well. In 1944, some Leaguers, headed by Dr Abdul Hameed Kazi, wanted a resolution to be adopted which was calling for Pakistan's constitution based on the model of the first four caliphs of Islam. Jinnah stopped that resolution from getting approved. Years later, Raja of Mehmudabad realised that Jinnah was right about secularism being the only way to unite Pakistan region.

"My advocacy of an Islamic [religious] state brought me into conflict with Jinnah. He thoroughly disapproved of my ideas and dissuaded me from expressing them publicly from the League platform lest the people might be led to believe that Jinnah shared my view and that he was asking me to convey such ideas to the public.

As I was convinced that I was right and did not want to compromise Jinnah's position, I decided to cut myself away and for nearly two years kept my distance from him, apart from seeing him during the working committee meetings and on other formal occasions. It was not easy to take this decision as my associations with Jinnah had been very close in the past. Now that I look back I realise how wrong I had been."[16]

> One Leaguer, Wilayat Ali Khan, rightly pointed out that Jinnah's thinking was different than many of his followers. "My prayer is that Pakistan may prove to be an advanced and democratic state and not a reactionary state as people think it will be," he said in a letter to Quaid-e-Azam a few months before independence. "This is the time to show to the world that we are an advanced and democratic nation and are not reactionaries."

[16] Speech to Legislator's Convention. Published by Dawn on 11 April 1946

Jinnah tried to approach Khaksar Movement multiple times but they never agreed with Jinnah's programme; hence, their rivalry remained intact. In 1940, Majlis-e-Ahrar merged with the Congress Party. After the failure of the Quit India Movement, they departed and tried to enter League's camp. However, they wanted Pakistan to be based on Sharia Law. Jinnah was not willing to commit to the creation of such a state. Ahrar declared him an 'infidel' and allied itself with the Congress once more, but this time they didn't merge with it.

However, they were fully on board with propaganda against Jinnah, encouraged by the Congress leaders. Jamat-e-Islami, Khaksar Movement, Darul-Uloom-Deoband and Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Hind were no different. Some low-level Deobandi clerics like Shabbir Ahmad Usmani decided to join the League's camp after forming Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam. They saw Pakistan Demand gaining momentum and wanted a piece of the pie. While they agreed to follow Jinnah's programme, for the time being, they had their own plans for the future. Meanwhile, the Unionists continued to use Brelvi pirs against Jinnah to derail his movement.

In 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps arrived in India to secure full Indian cooperation and support for their efforts in World War 2. Cripps belonged to the left-wing Labour Party, traditionally sympathetic to Indian self-rule, but was also a member of the coalition War Cabinet led by Prime Minister Winston Churchill, who had long been the leader of the movement to block Indian independence. Cripps was sent to negotiate an agreement with the Congress leaders and Mohammed Ali Jinnah. Cripps worked to keep India loyal to the British war effort in exchange for a promise of elections and full Dominion status once the war was over.

Cripps discussed the proposals, which he had drafted himself with the Indian leaders. The Congress rejected his proposals, and they were also unacceptable to Churchill. Congress moved towards the Quit India Movement and refused to cooperate in the war effort. In response, the British imprisoned the entire Congress leadership for the duration of the war. Cripps also approached Muslim League members to listen to their demands, so a middle ground could be reached. This would've destroyed

Jinnah's strategy since hardly anyone could describe the territorial nature of Pakistan, and Jinnah had to keep it that way, but luckily the British Government cut Cripps' visit short and the mission failed.

During the same year, Gandhi's relative, Rajagopalacharia, came up with a new partition scheme which was inspired by Lala Lajpat Rai's scheme from 1924. He stated that Muslim-majority regions should be allowed to create their own sovereign state after a plebiscite. But he was not willing to give the entire Punjab and Bengal to Pakistan. He wanted Hindustan to keep the Eastern zones of Punjab and the Western zones of Bengal, including Calcutta. In these zones of both provinces, non-Muslims were in majority, even though overall both were Muslim-majority provinces. He saw partition as a lesser evil compared to other solutions. Two years later, Gandhi requested the British Government to let him see Jinnah. Gandhi offered Jinnah a sovereign state of Pakistan which would be achieved through Rajaji's method, also known as the C.R. Formula.

Jinnah rejected the offer during their meeting and in the letters that followed it because Gandhi wanted Jinnah's alliance against the British and C.R. Formula was to come afterwards. Jinnah saw it as a trap. He wanted settlement between communities before independence. He also didn't want an all-India centre dominated by the majority to handle the issue of Pakistan. Instead, he wanted the principle of Pakistan accepted first, and then the Hindustan region to come to an agreement with Pakistan on equal footing to sign pacts or form a shared centre. Another reason was the partition of provinces in this scheme, which Jinnah bitterly opposed.

He wanted united provinces of Punjab and Bengal, instead of their partition on communal lines. There were multiple reasons behind it. He wanted an economically viable Pakistan. He needed Punjab's fertile land in the Eastern zone of the province and Bengal's Calcutta port in the Western zone of the province to achieve that. Another reason was the danger of mass migration, which would've led to bloodshed if provinces were to be divided in half. Not to mention, other provinces could have demanded the same in return, which meant a complete disaster.

Hence, Jinnah rejected Gandhi's offer. During their talks, Gandhi asked Jinnah about his Two Nations Theory. According to Gandhi, it

didn't make sense to call Muslims a nation just because they followed a different religion. Jinnah recommended him a couple of books to clarify what 'Nation' actually meant. This also included B.R. Ambedkar's book 'Thoughts on Pakistan', who was a Dalit Hindu. Besides, one shouldn't forget that it was Caste Hindu philosophers who considered themselves a separate race and called Muslims "Melechaas". Jinnah was just throwing their old arguments against them. Gandhi continued to claim that Congress was a secular party, and Jinnah refused to admit it because of his past experiences. The negotiations collapsed and nothing came out of them.

In early 1945, Quaid-e-Azam only had one ministry in Muslim India. That too was barely standing and Jinnah had next to no control over it. Due to the war coming to an end, the British government started releasing all the Congress prisoners and announced elections for late 1945 and early 1946. When Nehru realised that in his absence Jinnah was able to secure popularity amongst oppressed classes, he lost his temper and broke down his furniture. While this was taking place in the world of Nehru, Lord Wavell, who became Viceroy Linlithgow's successor in 1943, was preparing to call all major players for Simla Conference in the coming months.

The Conference aimed to end the deadlock between Congress and Muslim League. It promised self-rule and separate representation for the Muslims in the government. However, the negotiations collapsed because Jinnah claimed that only his party should be allowed to appoint Muslim representatives because he was their sole spokesman, while Nehru challenged his argument by pointing out that he lacked enough ministries and votes to be their only spokesman. For Jinnah, the only way to counter this argument practically was to produce some good results in the upcoming elections.

Jinnah was now an old man, close to 70. He knew two things very well: The British were on their way out and he was dying. Whatever he wanted, had to be achieved soon. Jinnah was already pushing his luck by giving a "warning to the landlords and capitalists", allowing Ahmadis into Muslim League, bringing Muslim women out of their homes, supporting secular Turkey and not signing pacts with the

religious parties because of ideological and political differences.

It was a conservative society and even though many of the landlords became so-called allies of the League for their own benefits, none of them was as powerful as the ones in the Unionist Party. The Unionists were then the allies of the Congress Party just like the Islamists. For decades, if not centuries, landlords and rulers were supported by the clergy. They were propagandists for the ruling elite. Unionists in Punjab also used some of the most powerful pirs and mullahs to stay in power for decades. Other provinces were no different. This was hardly a time to further challenge the status quo and change the entire system overnight. Jinnah just needed a mandate, so he could speak in the centre. This, he could only achieve by letting Provincial Leagues secure the support of the influential people by any means, as he himself stayed away from the matters of the provinces.

When Congress leadership was in prison, Jinnah was gaining support from the general public by highlighting issues of minorities. Things that furthered his cause were the effects of World War 2. Between 1940 and 1945, food prices continued to rise in British India. While Jinnah lost ministries in provinces, amongst the masses, the slogan of 'Pakistan' was becoming popular. It was seen as something which would solve all of their issues and grievances. Ironically, Jinnah not having ministries in most of the provinces worked in his favour. Now either the ruling parties had to face the public backlash or the governors. This gave Jinnah some breathing room, especially between early 1945 and late 1945 when the war crisis reached its peak and several regions of Muslim India became victims of diseases and famine.

Now different members of the ruling parties tried to save their faces and deserted to join Muslim League. Once, a few deserted, others followed. This also included pirs and mullahs. First, low-level Brelvi pirs shook hands with the leaders of the Provincial League in Sindh and Punjab, and then more influential ones joined their camps. Same happened in the other provinces soon afterwards.

On one hand, there were Darul-Uloom-Deoband, Jamat-e-Islami, Majlis-e-Ahrar, Khaksar Movement, Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Hind, Hindu Mahasabha, Congress' Right Wing and RSS, doing their street

propaganda against Jinnah and the League; on the other hand, there were pirs and mullahs, who had abandoned the Unionists, Congress and Jamiat, trying to counter it. One side labelled Pakistan as Na-Pakistan (land of impure), and the other side claimed that either one was behind Pakistan or Kufaristan (land of anti-Pakistan infidels). As far as Jinnah was concerned, he remained unquoted apart from highlighting social, political and economic issues one would face under Brahmin Theocracy.

In the elections of 1945-46, Muslim League swept the Muslim vote. It won 455 of 490 seats. In Sindh, it was able to form a weak ministry. Bengal contained a fairly strong ministry. H.S. Suhrawardy was now the new Premier of Bengal, but he had to shake hands with some of the Hindus to form his government. The turnout in NWFP was decent and in Punjab, it was great where it became the single largest party. However, in Punjab, the ministry remained under the Unionist Party, which was becoming unpopular rapidly. In NWFP, Congress and Red Shirts formed a coalition government to stop Muslim League from coming in power. Overall, Jinnah managed to secure enough support to become the sole spokesman for the Indian Muslims. Upon victory, Jinnah reminded people of their actual goals.

> "What are we fighting for? What are we aiming at? It's not for theocracy, nor for a theocratic state… We Muslims have got everything, brains, intelligence, capacity and courage, virtues that nations must possess. But two things are lacking, and I want you to concentrate your attention on these. One thing is that foreign domination from without and Hindu domination here, particularly on our economic life, has caused a certain degeneration of these virtues in us. We have lost the fullness of our noble character."

Jinnah's politics was not religious in nature but primarily focused on uplifting the economic, social and political status of oppressed classes in India by ending the Brahmin monopoly. The end of British domination alone in his opinion was not going to end superstition, backwardness, poverty, criminal underground and delusions about theocracy.

Chapter 12

The Settlement

Jinnah didn't stop being the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity. However, he changed his tactics in the wake of new challenges. As a Congressman, he suggested straight forward unitary government which was unacceptable to the Muslims, some of whom also happened to be 'pro-British'. They wanted the reservation of seats and separate electorates. Jinnah brought Hindu dominated Congress and Muslim dominated Muslim League on the same platform through Lucknow Pact in 1916.

Congress accepted separate electorates and reservation of seats for Muslims. In exchange, Muslim League decided to back Congress' struggle against the British Raj through constitutional means. They also got rid of their pro-British policy. Things started changing after the beginning of the Khilafat Movement which forced Jinnah to leave Congress. Then in the 1920s Jinnah-Congress relations further deteriorated when Lucknow Pact was abandoned by the Congress and Nehru Report was adopted, which only offered joint electorates. This not only divided Muslims and Hindus but also Muslims and Muslims.

Jinnah's fourteen points tried to bring both sides together yet again by offering a federation with separate electorates for the time being. Parties were at liberty to abandon them for joint electorates later on. Congress leadership threw his suggestions in a dustbin, making things worse. Jinnah then played his role in Round Table Conferences; however, not everything he wanted was given by the Government of India Act 1935. In 1937, he approached Congress and suggested a coalition against the British government in the centre, which led nowhere. Jinnah started to transform Muslim League into a mass movement during this period.

Three years after the elections of 1937, which also included two years of Congress' brutal rule between 1937 and 1939, Lahore Resolution was drafted, which offered a new solution. It was labelled as Pakistan Resolution by the Congress press, so Jinnah decided to adopt that name and run with it. He let everyone interpret Pakistan's

territorial nature as they wished until the time came for his interpretation to come into the spotlight. He rejected C.R. Formula which offered a separate and sovereign Pakistan but with partitioned provinces along the way, while always insisting on the settlement before independence. Congress on the other hand wanted independence to come first and hoped for everything else to get fixed or disappear on its own afterwards.

In early 1946, after the elections, Jinnah could finally explain a bit more about his interpretation of Pakistan. Ironically, Congress, a party that 'desired freedom from colonial powers', wanted to keep the existing centre intact, which was a colonial project. Meanwhile, Jinnah wanted it gone and a new centre to take its place. This centre was going to acknowledge that India at best was a nation of nations. He stated that both major nations, Hindus and Muslims, deserved to draft a constitution on equal footing. This could only happen if the British government and Congress were ready to accept the principle of Pakistan, which in simple words meant the right to have self-determination.

Major Woodrow Wyatt was then a Labour MP who became personal assistant to Sir Stafford Cripps during Cabinet Mission Plan later on. Before Mission's own arrival, Wyatt was already in British India for early inquiries. So, Jinnah now had to explain his Pakistan demand in a bit more detail. In February of 1946, he told Wyatt that the principle of Pakistan meant ending the current unitary centre and replacing it with two federations, Pakistan and Hindustan, with their own constituent assemblies.

He also added that there would be an all-India centre on top guarded by the 'British Crown Representative'. In this centre, there would be regional parity between the Pakistan region and the Hindustan region. If the Princely States from both regions wished, their representatives would also be adjusted in this centre, while keeping the sovereignty of these states intact. This centre was supposed to take care of defence and foreign affairs but lack legislature. This was Jinnah's demand for a confederation. This was supposed to allow Muslim India and Hindu India to hold talks about India's future as equal partners. One needs to note that this was a demand for regional parity, not parity

between Hindus and Muslims. So, even a Hindu from the Pakistan region could become a spokesman for that specific region in the centre.

Jinnah also reminded HMG (His Majesty's Government) that Muslim India kept its end of the bargain during the war, and now it was their turn to fulfil their promises. However, the British Empire now had different priorities and a new PM from the Labour Party, Sir Clement Atlee. The only reason why the British were even trying to bring both parties together was to save their own image and let the world see that they departed India on a high note. It was more about their legacy than genuinely worrying about the Indians. After Wyatt listened to Jinnah's Pakistan Demand and Congress' demand for a strong centre, Atlee dispatched Cabinet Mission Plan on 23 March 1946. Its delegation contained Sir Stafford Cripps, A.V. Alexander and then the Secretary of the State for India, Pethick-Lawrence.

Alexander didn't play a big role in negotiations. The other two along with Viceroy Wavell were the most active ones during these talks. Riots never stopped in British India. They only became worse in the 1940s, especially after the Quit India Movement which radicalised the people further. Things continued to get worse as British rule in India was nearing its closure. Jinnah was worried about Indian politicians losing control over their followers. He wanted the British rulers to stay for a couple of years and make sure that all major communities were at peace with one another before departing. Leaving a peaceful India behind was their responsibility after all, as Jinnah reminded them, "India was neither united nor divided – it was a British possession."

Jinnah wanted a solution on an all-India level, but as far as provincial leaders were concerned, they only cared about their own provinces. As long as they had autonomy, and their little land to rule in, they were not concerned about the nature of the centre or anything else. Some hyper-nationalist politicians in Sindh raised the issue of 'inevitable Punjabi domination' in Pakistan and called for separation from all other regions before Pakistan even came into existence. Jinnah also had to deal with this lot and keep them in order.

Even though he hated all of them, he still needed their backing for negotiations. Due to cries of separation in non-Punjabi provinces,

including Sindh and Bengal, Jinnah on one hand assured provincial autonomy to keep Sindhi separatists in order and on the other hand got Lahore Resolution amended to stop Bengal's potential departure. Now instead of "Independent States", it officially demanded one "Sovereign Independent State" in Muslim India to temporarily close the door for a separate Bengali State. Jinnah now placed his maximum demand of a confederation in front of Cabinet Mission Plan. After the first round of talks, two schemes emerged.

'Scheme A' gave NWFP, Sindh, Punjab, Balochistan and Bengal to Pakistan, while the remaining regions went to Hindustan. Sovereign regions of Pakistan and Hindustan were to form an all-India centre. This shared centre was going to take care of defence, foreign affairs and communications. There was no legislature in the centre and it offered parity between both regions. The remaining powers were reserved for its member federations beneath it.

This was just a first step. Later these regions could come to an agreement on equal footing and form a federation with one constitution for the whole region if it was acceptable to everyone. So, things were heading in the direction of an all-India federation. On the other hand, 'Scheme B' included partitioned Punjab and Bengal for Pakistan, along with NWFP, Sindh, Balochistan and Assam. This truncated Pakistan was to be separate and was to sign pacts with sovereign Hindustan instead of having a shared centre with it. Cabinet Mission itself preferred Scheme A, but the second one was there as a backup if negotiations broke down.

After looking at these two schemes, London officially allowed the delegation to proceed with their negotiations in April of 1946. Then the President of Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who led the Khilafat Movement almost twenty-six years ago, looked at schemes and stated that Congress wanted a fully independent India, where there would be one federation of fully autonomous units with residuary powers and a centre above them with authority over certain subjects. This was impractical for pro-Pakistan elements because a straightforward federation of provinces without grouping was not offering an effective power-sharing to Muslim India in the centre.

After taking everything into consideration, the mission introduced a detailed three-tier proposal which, as expected, still kept Assam away from Pakistan. In this scheme, Muslim and Hindu provinces were to be grouped to form two federations. These groups were going to have their own legislatures with decent authority over their internal units, and then there was going to be an all-India centre on top of both legislatures. The group legislatures were quite appealing as Muslim League was a disorganised unit and Jinnah thought of using the strong centre on the intermediate level to control his lunatic following in the Pakistan region. Congress, which was more organised anyway, could do the same in its own region. Now, this three-tier 'Union of India' became the new Scheme A of the mission. Meanwhile, Scheme B was still there which offered separate states of Pakistan and Hindustan with partitioned provinces of Bengal and Punjab. Later, Scheme B also gave Assam to Hindustan.

On 25 April, Jinnah looked at Scheme B and called it "unacceptable". However, he was willing to accept Scheme A if Congress cooperated. Jinnah's original Pakistan demand also included Assam but he was ready to compromise on it. He always wanted to ask for more and settle for less. This was confirmed by Dawn Newspaper's 'Spirit of Co-operation' article in which Suhrawardy stated that Mr Jinnah would take less than his original demand if Congress showed interest. So, Jinnah was already showing flexibility and waiting for the other side to make its move. However, Gandhi and Nehru didn't like this new scheme either.

They wanted one strong centre on an all-India level and not two strong centres on intermediate levels. In fact, many in Congress were seeing Scheme B as the lesser evil. And this wasn't something new either. People like Lala Lajpat Rai wanted the same even in the 1920s. C.R. Formula, which Jinnah had rejected, was similar to Scheme B of the Cabinet Mission Plan as well. Congressmen, especially the ones who were under the influence of their right-wing leaders like Sardar Patel, preferred to have separate Hindustan where they could form the centre of their choice without any hurdle. They were willing to let Muslim-majority areas go their way, but not without the partition of Punjab and Bengal.

Wavell told them that if both parties accepted Scheme A then an interim government would be formed. This government would include five members of the Muslim League, five of Congress and two extras. This interim government would also act like a constituent assembly and perform tasks distributed by Wavell through portfolios, during the transitioning period. Jinnah hoped that in case Congress refused to accept the proposal, the British would take over and solve the issue on their own through an Award and stay for a couple of years to make sure that everything was in check before leaving the region. However, that was just wishful thinking. Jinnah was also under this false impression that due to the fear of separation and partition of provinces as offered by Scheme B, Congress would be forced to accept Scheme A as a compromise, which after all, offered unity through the division of British India into autonomous zones, under the same centre.

Around 26 April, Kalam argued that the plan needed a few more adjustments, but overall he was showing optimism. It felt like Congress under his 'leadership' was willing to accept the proposal. Kalam had become the President of Congress in 1939. Jinnah called him a "showboy" because according to him, Kalam's appointment as President was just a smokescreen and through it, Congress was trying to make itself look secular, however, in reality, he was just a figurehead. Jinnah's assessment was right, as Kalam was soon forced to change his attitude. Nehru, Gandhi and Patel still wanted a robust centre with a legislature, even if it had control over a few subjects. Apart from that, Nehru also wanted the centre to manage finance.

One of the main reasons behind the Pakistan Movement was to improve the economic condition of Muslim India by ending Brahmin domination. So, an all-India centre dominated by the majority wasn't very beneficial especially if it had powers over the economy of Muslim India as well. Jinnah wanted groups to handle finances and the centre without a legislator, so both regions could prosper economically without getting in each other's way. During negotiations on the subject matter, Sardar Patel dismissed the grouping scheme because he considered autonomous zones as the first step towards the complete separation of Pakistan from Hindustan areas, that too with the entire

Punjab and Bengal. Jinnah, being a realist, took everything and everyone, including provincial leaders, into account and warned Patel that the grouping was the only way to prevent "complete partition".

The negotiations continued for a couple of days and came to nothing. On 8 May 1946, Gandhi wrote a letter to Sir Stafford Cripps in which he called parity with Muslim regions worse than their interpretation of Pakistan, which meant complete separation and partitioned provinces.

> "As to merits the difficulty about parity between six Hindu majority provinces and the five Muslim majority provinces is insurmountable. The Muslim majority provinces represent over nine crores of the population as against over nineteen crores of the Hindu majority provinces. This is really worse than Pakistan."[1]

Some historians claim that Gandhi became a bit more moderate in the 1940s but he was making these choices because of being blackmailed by the leaders of the Sindh Congress and Punjab Congress, along with people like Sardar Patel. A Christian Leaguer, Mrs Rallia Ram, tried to keep Jinnah up to date on several issues, and if her letter from 11 May 1946 is taken into account, then it supports the theory that Gandhi was indeed no longer the master of his actions.

> "Hindu Brahmans are longing to get the power transferred to their hands and then they mean to settle with the rest in a fortnight's time. This is exactly what Sir Gokal Chand Narang said two years ago and this is what the Congress is thundering now over the heads of 100 million Muslims whom they hope to crush down easily if power is transferred to a Hindu Centre. Sardar Patel is today the sole and solitary dictator of the Hindus; the voice of their great Mahatma has now become so feeble that he is made to eat his own words by this great Nero of the Hindus...

[1] 8 May 1946. Gandhi to Cripps. Transfer of Power Papers v 7, p 466

> What Sardar Patel says now... the Congress accepts... Brahman imperialism is today struggling to revive its hold on the masses of India for the sake of not only political exploitation but also social exploitation. Everybody would be doomed if Brahmans succeeded in their efforts to regain power. But thank God that you are the solitary brake on the mighty avalanche that would sweep over the land, had it not been for your honest, sincere and good efforts to save not only the 100 million Muslims but also... crores of untouchables, Christians, and all those to whom caste domination is as good as death-knell. History will acknowledge your wisdom and farsightedness."[2]

With Congress refusing to compromise on anything, the mission now introduced a new statement on 16 May 1946. This further changed the shape of Scheme A. All-India centre would now handle defence, foreign affairs, communication as well as finance. It'd also contain legislature containing representatives from the British Indian States as well as the Princely States. There would be no parity in the centre and the majority would be allowed to dominate. Meanwhile, instead of two, now there would be three groups beneath this all-India centre. Two of them would be Muslim groups. Group A would contain Hindu provinces. Group B would contain Muslim provinces of the North-Western zone. Group C would contain Bengal.

The preamble of the Cabinet Mission Plan now also removed the word 'Pakistan' from it. 16 May Statement was clearly introduced to appease Congress and it was a proper 'All-India Federation' which was going to contain one loose centre dominated by the majority and one constitution from the start. Jinnah wasn't satisfied because he wanted parity in the all-India centre and groups to handle their financial matters on their own. What made things worse was the lack of word 'Pakistan' in this new scheme, which made Jinnah's followers and colleagues question his motives and the 'real reason' behind his one compromise after another.

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[2] 11 May 1947. Mrs K.L. Rallia Ram to M.A. Jinnah. Jinnah Papers v 1 part 1, pp 728-729

Jinnah called a meeting and tried to convince his so-called colleagues by pointing out the inclusion of united Punjab and Bengal in Muslim groups. Plus there was also the matter of interim government where Jinnah could still get some sort of parity during the constitution-making process because both parties were promised five seats in it.

On 22 May 1946, Jinnah released a public statement in which he criticised the 16 May Statement for removing the word 'Pakistan' but at the same time, he refused to reject the proposal entirely. While Jinnah was busy convincing his followers to accept the 16 May Statement, Congress was still going in the opposite direction and demanding 'more improvements' in the proposal. Congress leadership thought that by pressing the delegation further, they would get their strong centre and Jinnah would be forced to compromise again. Viceroy Wavell concluded that Congress "has no interest in the framing of the final constitution. All it wants is power, complete power, and power at once".[3]

Jinnah was in a difficult position because of 16 May Statement. He wanted to accept the statement but also had to convince his supporters and colleagues to trust him on this, even if the new statement didn't mention 'Pakistan'. Wyatt proposed a solution to get Jinnah out of this situation. He advised Jinnah that Muslim League should pass a resolution condemning the Mission's rejection of Pakistan, then tell the public that he never expected anyone to serve him Pakistan on a platter anyway; so, to win Pakistan League would accept the statement as "the first step on the road to Pakistan". Jinnah was thrilled to hear Wyatt's solution and replied, "Yes you got it!"

So, Jinnah did exactly what Wyatt had suggested. He now mainly targeted 'parity' in the interim government, instead of permanent centre. However, now Wavell told Jinnah that he could no longer guarantee parity in the interim government either; however, he assured Jinnah that he'd not let injustice happen. This convinced Jinnah to call Muslim League's meeting on 4 June 1946 in which he tried to convince his party members to accept the 16 May Statement even though it had rejected Pakistan, at least as a common man interpreted it.

[3] 21 May 1946. Wavell to Henderson. Transfer of Power Papers v 8, p 654

On 6 June 1946, Muslim League Working Committee passed a resolution and unanimously accepted the 16 May Statement, agreeing to an all-India federation dominated by the Hindu majority with some concessions on an intermediate level due to the grouping of provinces. Deep down, Jinnah and Wavell were still worried about plausible civil disobedience movement from Congress against the interim government's Five:Five:Two Formula.

The matter of Muslim representation was also unresolved. Congress didn't want Jinnah to appoint all the Muslims in the interim government and Nehru was still opposed to the grouping scheme entirely which was the spirit of 16 May version of the Cabinet Mission Plan. He wasn't really taking his adversaries seriously. In fact, he stated that he "did not think that Mr Jinnah had any real place in the country".[4] Now, without even accepting 16 May Statement, Nehru stated that he wanted only four members of the Muslim League in the interim government. He wanted Congress to appoint seven members of its own choice and one non-League Muslim. Jinnah was now on the verge of losing parity in the interim government too. To break the deadlock, the delegation extended its 16 May Statement on 16 June 1946.

Newly added paragraph no. 8 stated that if any party refused to enter the interim government, then the entire interim government would be given to the party that was willing to cooperate. So far, only Muslim League had officially accepted 16 May Statement in letter and spirit, which meant almost all seats belonged to Muslim League. If Jinnah himself decided to become part of this government, then he would be treated as the virtual Prime Minister of British India.

Wavell thought this would compel Congress to finally accept the proposal. On the other hand, Gandhi, who was still stuck on the issue of Muslim representation, wanted to appoint Azad as a Muslim from the Congress' side. Azad refused to be part of something which had the potential of destroying the whole settlement. Meanwhile, Wavell and his comrades were afraid of Jinnah seizing the entire interim government in Congress' absence, because then they would face

[4] 10 June 1946. Transfer of Power Papers v 8, p 855

violent movement by the right wing of Congress against Muslim domination and this time it'd be the end of everything.

Congress leadership finally issued an official statement on 22 June 1946 and decided to boycott the interim government and 16 May Statement, pushing the country towards complete anarchy. Wavell, Pethick-Lawrence and Cripps tried their best to reason with them. This continued for almost three days. Then, on 25 June 1946, Congress passed and accepted a resolution which discredited the settlement once again.

> "In the formation of a Provisional or other Government, Congressmen can never give up the national character of Congress or accept an artificial and unjust parity, or agree to a veto of a communal group. The Committee are unable to accept the proposals for the formation of an interim Government as contained in the Statement of June 16th. The Committee have, however, decided that the Congress should join the proposed Constituent Assembly with a view to framing the Constitution of a free, united, and democratic India. While the committee have agreed to Congress participation in the Constituent Assembly, it is, in their opinion, essential that a representative and responsible Provisional National Government be formed at the earliest possible date."[5]

Congress decided to enter the interim government for the sake of framing a constitution but without accepting the grouping scheme. Azad now also ate his earlier words and stated that they were entering the interim government to achieve their end goal of a strong centre. Perhaps this figurehead was finally reminded that he was not the one to call the shots. Soon after these statements, he was replaced by Nehru as the new President of Congress. Meanwhile, Congress' confusing decisions and statements of 25 June put Wavell in a tough spot and he showed his concerns in a letter to his comrades.

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[5] 25 June 1946. Ibid, pp 1036-1038

> "Congress manoeuvres have now put us into a very difficult position, both with Mr. Jinnah and as to the formation of an Interim Government... We have in fact been outmanoeuvred by the Congress; and this ability of Congress to twist words and phrases and to take advantage of any slip in wording is what Mr. Jinnah has all along feared, and has been the reason for his difficult attitude... I am quite certain that our last chance of getting a genuine Coalition Government for India has gone, for a very long time at any rate."[6]

Due to pressure from Congress, Viceroy didn't fulfil what was promised in June 16's Statement. Instead of inviting Muslim League to take over the entire interim government, the mission now told Jinnah that they were postponing the interim government and forming a caretaker government in its place until both parties reached an understanding. Jinnah felt betrayed and called it a "breach of faith". On 10 July, Nehru held a press conference in which he stated that they were willing to join the interim government on their terms, and would modify the plan as they saw fit.

Congress also played the Punjabi domination card to discourage non-Punjabi provinces from accepting the grouping scheme. Ironically, Congress was 'concerned' about potential Punjabi domination in North-Western zones of Muslim India but not Caste Hindu domination in India as a whole, something which led to the grouping scheme in the first place. The inconsistency in Congress' statements and rejection of the grouping scheme entirely made the settlement more difficult. May 16 Statement had already allowed the Hindu majority to dominate the centre and Muslim League had accepted that compromise after Jinnah took them in confidence, but Congress didn't budge one bit.

[6] 25 June 1946. Ibid, pp 1038-1039

Chapter 13

Battle for the Interim Government

After Nehru's press conference, Cabinet Mission now announced that they were proceeding with the interim government. It was now going to contain six Congressmen, five Leaguers and three others. From the start, Jinnah wanted the exclusive right to appoint Muslims in the interim government because his party won Muslim seats the most and he had the mandate to be their spokesman; however, the mission stood with Congress and allowed them to appoint Muslims as well. Wavell sent new proposals to both parties on 22 July and Congress once again rejected the grouping scheme entirely. It wanted immediate independence and a strong centre dominated by the majority. In their opinion, that was the only solution to the deteriorating law and order situation. Wavell wrote Pethick-Lawrence on 24 July in which he advised to intervene and keep Congress in check before it was too late; but, his warning fell on deaf ears.

> "Congress has in fact the choice between a peaceful transfer of power by the means indicated by HMG or of provoking a conflict which is bound to lead to chaos in India; and that they would be well advised to choose the former... Congress have decided to challenge HMG and to become the only effective power in India. HMG will have to make up their minds now whether to abdicate or not. I have no doubt whatever that we must if necessary accept the challenge. We have obligations in honour not to hand over the Muslims and other minorities to the unchecked domination of Congress and our own interests demand that we should not surrender tamely."[1]

Due to one compromise after another, Jinnah started losing influence over his followers and colleagues. He was pushed into the corner and had no choice but to follow his allies for the time being to maintain his power over the party. By following the advice of his

[1] Transfer of Power Papers v 8, pp 114-115

followers, Jinnah decided to boycott the interim government and went back to his original maximum demand, a sovereign Pakistan. His followers also demanded 'Direct Action', a term used for the civil disobedience movement, to put pressure on Congress and the British government.

Due to being forced by his followers and the Congress dictating the British government's actions through calls for protests, Jinnah now announced Direct Action Day to counter it, even though he always hated street politics. Viceroy Wavell hoped that a call for civil disobedience movement would force Congress to reconsider its position but he was proven wrong. Now he was not only concerned about the Muslims of British India but also the Princes. He concluded that the Princely States might not deal with an interim government dominated by a single non-Muslim party.

> "I also doubt whether the Princes will be willing to set up their Negotiating Committee to talk to a purely Congress Constituent Assembly, indeed the Chancellor has already hinted as much; and with the Sikhs and Muslim League out, it will prove a poor version of what we all had hoped for... The only real solution is of course for the Congress to take the generous attitude as the stronger party, and offer the League the assurances which it wants; but there is, as you know, a complete lack of greatness or generosity about India's political leaders, and I have no hope of this happening."[2]

Muslim League adopted the Direct Action Day resolution and called for a strike on 16 August. Jinnah thought that this might convince Congress to compromise. So, Nehru and Jinnah met on 15 August to discuss the setup of the interim government. Earlier, Congress demanded seven seats for itself and four for Muslim League. Now, Nehru was willing to surrender one more to Muslim League. He

[2] 31 July 1946. Wavell's letter to Pethick-Lawrence. Transfer of Power Papers v 8, p 158

wanted them to have five seats, while Congress to have at least seven. He was still not ready to only let Jinnah appoint Muslims. He also argued that Jinnah should join the interim government, while the issue of grouping should be left for the future. It was obvious that they still had no plans to accept the grouping of provinces; hence, negotiations failed once more.

The next day, peaceful protests took place across India. Jinnah had already advised his followers to avoid violence and mostly they did; however, riots broke out in Calcutta which continued for over four days. Most of the victims of these riots were Muslims. Suhrawardy had formed a ministry in Bengal by shaking hands with the Hindus. Any organised violence against the Hindus by Bengal League would've led to the end of Suhrawardy's coalition government, hence, also ending the mandate they needed for Pakistan. Congress, however, immediately started to blame Muslim League for being 'the mastermind' behind the killings. In return, Viceroy Wavell wrote to Pathick-Lawerence on the 21st of August 1946.

> "The last week-end has seen dreadful riots in Calcutta. The present estimate of casualties is 3,000 dead and 17,000 injured. The Bengal Congress are convinced that all the trouble was deliberately engineered by the Muslim League Ministry, but no satisfactory evidence to that effect has reached me yet. It is said that the decision to have a public holiday on the 16th August was the cause of the trouble, but I think this is very far-fetched.

There was a public holiday in Sind and there was no trouble there. At any rate, whatever were the immediate causes of the outbreak, it is clear that when it started, the Hindus and Sikhs were every bit as fierce as the Muslims. The present estimate is that appreciably more Muslims than Hindus were killed...

The Congress press and Sarat Chandra Bose, the local Congress leader, have strongly urged that the Governor should intervene and dismiss his (Suhrawardy's) Ministry. This claim has been supported by the 'Hindustan Times'. It is remarkable how much the attitude of the

Congress towards the Governor's special powers varies according to whether they are in power themselves or in opposition."[3]

A few days ago, Congress had stated that Muslim League lacked funding and proper organisation to hold the civil disobedience movement, but now they blamed the party for being directly involved in the bloodshed. They used this as a new tool to justify keeping the League out of interim government and ignore their demand for a settlement. Meanwhile, Wavell threatened Congress that he would delay the interim government if Congress didn't change its attitude. This didn't produce any results as Gandhi fiercely opposed the idea of a settlement with the Muslim League once more. By 28 August, the number of deaths had reached 4,400. Wavell informed Pethick-Lawrence:

> "The strong reaction by Gandhi to my suggestion that Congress should make their assurance about the Grouping categorical shows how well justified Jinnah was to doubt their previous assurances on the subject. It is to my mind convincing evidence that Congress always meant to use their position in the Interim Government to break up the Muslim League and in the Constituent Assembly to destroy the Grouping scheme which was the one effective safeguard for the Muslims.
>
> Though the consequences may be serious I think it is as well that things have come to a head. Calcutta with its 4,400 dead, 16,000 injured and over 100,000 homeless showed that a one party Government at the Centre was likely to cause fierce disorders everywhere. Far from having any sobering effect, it has increased communal hatred and intransigence. If Congress intentions are as Gandhi's letter suggests, the result of their being in power can only be a state of virtual civil war in many parts of India."[4]

[3] Transfer of Power Papers v 8, p 274
[4] Ibid, p 323

Pethick-Lawrence reported back to London and London told Wavell to stop pushing for the grouping of provinces for the time being. They asked him to continue with an interim government as Congress wanted and leave the rest for the future. This was the result of Congress' lobbying in London through their agents like 'Sudhir Ghosh', who also asked HMG to sideline Wavell and let someone else lead the mission because Wavell and Nehru failed to develop a good working relationship, as both had different views on grouping.

On 2 September, Congress joined and took over the entire interim government by appointing its twelve members, including three Muslims. There was no non-Congress politician to represent Indians and now it was entirely up to the Congress Party to frame the new constitution. This gave Nehru the status of virtual Prime Minister. As a result, thousands of Muslims raised black flags on their rooftops to record their protest. On 9 September, Wavell argued that it was useless to bring Cabinet Mission Plan to India if the British government didn't dare to implement it.

> "In my view that Statement of 16th May is worthless if we have not the honesty and courage to stick to it, and I would rather lose the cooperation of the Congress at the Centre and in the Provinces than go ahead with constitution making on a one-party basis and in a way which the Mission never intended."[5]

It was now quite obvious that Congress was going to be the next successor of the British Raj, hence, Pethick-Lawrence now preferred to weaken Jinnah further by creating a new government in Bengal, which would be a coalition between Bengal League and Bengal Congress. He wanted the same in Sindh by involving governors, who had powers to dismiss assemblies. Punjab and NWFP were already under Congress. This way, he wanted Jinnah's mandate to vanish and Congress to triumph. In his mind, this was now the only way to proceed with the

[5] Ibid, p 471

transfer of power from the British to the Indians. On 9 September, Jinnah released a new statement in which he hinted that he was still ready for a compromise if the other side showed interest and was willing to start fresh negotiations. On 10 September, Wavell wrote Pethick-Lawrence.

"Suhrawardy has said in Delhi that if Jinnah felt there was a spirit of cooperation on the Congress side he would take less than his present demands. I am sure that now is the time to send for Jinnah and try to get a settlement especially as the Congress seem to aim at consolidating their power and disregarding the League altogether. The longer we wait the more difficult a settlement is likely to be."[6]

On 14 September, he continued:

> "My own view is that Congress may be more difficult than the League. There is no doubt that Nehru and others having tasted power do not want to share it. They can easily do something or say something that will make it impossible for Jinnah to accept and I am afraid that they are likely to do so. So I am not very hopeful... If these negotiations break down, the communal situation will be even worse than before, and Nazimuddin has told Abell that in that event the Muslim League can hardly fail to start direct action soon, since otherwise leaders would lose their control."[7]

Wavell was well aware of the plausibility of Indian politicians losing control over their followers, and Jinnah in this case was no exception. His followers wanted something and Jinnah needed a good gesture from Congress to satisfy them and for negotiations to resume. Wavell rightly highlighted that Congress' attitude was putting Jinnah in a tough spot.

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[6] Ibid, p 477
[7] Ibid, p 522

> "I saw Jinnah yesterday... He said that if the Congress would make a gesture of good-will and not appoint a Nationalist Muslim, that would very greatly ease his position... [He] said that he would need some convention to satisfy his supporters... Jinnah said that he would be prepared to see Nehru if he was certain of a favourable agreement on the points he had raised... Jinnah was very quiet and reasonable, and appears anxious for a settlement if it can be done without loss of prestige."[8]

Later, he continued:

> "Jinnah's main line was that he must have something with which to convince his Working Committee that he had not been defeated on every issue and was coming into the Government as a subordinate to the Congress... Mr. Jinnah was friendly and reasonable throughout, and I got the impression that the League are anxious to come in if their amour-propre can in some way be satisfied."[9]

Wavell then met Nehru and Gandhi and reported back to the Secretary of the State for India, Pethick-Lawrence, on 26 September.

> "I had an hour with Nehru this evening. I told him I was confident a settlement could be secured on the participation of the Muslim League... if the matter was handled with wisdom and statesmanship. I gave him an account of my interview with Jinnah and told him I thought I could persuade Jinnah to approach him for direct negotiations, which I was sure was the right way, provided I could give him an assurance that the Congress would be prepared to be generous...

[8] Ibid, p 588
[9] Wavell's Note. Transfer of Power Papers v 8, p 644

> I had also an hour with Mr. Gandhi... [who] then really disclosed his hand, by saying that he wished to know what we should do if the worst happened and the Muslim League did not come in... This of course has been Gandhi's objective and the objective of the majority of the Congress, I think, from the first, i.e. to establish themselves at the Centre and to suppress, cajole or buy over the Muslims, and then impose a Constitution at their leisure."[10]

After failing to convince Nehru on the Muslim appointment issue and listening to Gandhi asking for the worst possible outcome in case the League was kept out of the interim government and constituent assembly entirely, Wavell concluded, "I am afraid that I have come to regard Gandhi's non-violence as almost pure hypocrisy, he is certainly pursuing a course deliberately which he knows and admits will lead to much bloodshed."[11]

Jinnah, showing statesmanship again, was now also ready to compromise on the Muslim representation issue and contacted Gandhi to proceed with the talks. The latter agreed to resume negotiations. Nehru and Sardar Patel soon intervened and reincarnated the issue of getting complete independence before the settlement and demanded Viceroy to stay out of negotiations entirely. Jinnah saw this as a trap and left the talks. However, later on, Jinnah was left with no choice but to enter interim government on 13 October by ending the League's boycott while hoping for the best. Congress was still unwilling to compromise on the grouping issue which was the soul of 16 May's Statement. Muslim League was to join the interim government on 25 October and the session of the constituent assembly was to be called on 9 December.

Jinnah now wanted the powerful portfolio of defence after compromising on everything else. The defence would've allowed him to have control over territories of India, hence, giving him a powerful

[10] Transfer of Power Papers v 8, pp 594-595

[11] 1 October 1946. Wavell's letter to Pethick-Lawrence. Transfer of Power Papers v 8, p 636

bargaining chip in the interim government. When he was refused this position, he decided against entering the interim government himself and let his comrades handle it instead. On 25 October, Muslim League appointed four Muslims and one Hindu from its side, while Congress appointed one Muslim and five non-Muslims. Three extras were also included in the interim government, and at least one of them, Baldev Singh, a leader of the Sikh community, had Congress' blessing. He was given the portfolio of defence. On the League's side, Liaquat Ali Khan became Finance Minister; meanwhile, Abdur Rab Nishtar handled Communication Department, Ibrahim Ismail Chundigarh Commerce, Ghazanfar Ali Khan Health and Jogendranath Mandal Law.

While this was taking place in the centre, the situation in the streets deteriorated further. In the month of October, first, riots in Noakhali broke out then Bihar riots followed. In Noakhali, the main targets were the Hindus. Confirmed deaths were 285, while some estimate them to be around 5000. Bihar riots, on the other hand, led to the deaths of over 6000 Muslims. Both incidents left hundreds of thousands homeless.

Jinnah helped welfare movements in collecting relief funds, especially for the displaced Muslims of Bihar, but not everyone could be saved through mere charity. Now the police also started taking sides. They either executed people from the other groups or looked the other way as mobs took matters into their own hands. Other criminal elements started taking advantage of this chaos and ended up looting, killing and setting scores to make it look like part of communal violence. The British government was quickly losing control over India, and they wanted to quit as soon as possible.

At the same time, some Congress leaders stated that due to Muslim League's presence in the interim government, the standard of Indian politics had fallen. They wanted to throw the entire party out of the interim setup. On 30 October, just five days after the Muslims joined the interim government, Nehru informed Wavell that Congress leaders weren't willing to work with the Muslim League as both had different ways of thinking and lacked a good working relationship. Meanwhile, Patel used riots in Bengal as an excuse to call for the dissolution of League's ministry there to damage Jinnah's mandate as Pethick-

Lawrence had desired earlier, to take one more step towards Congress-dominated strong centre, but he was ignored by Wavell and the governor of Bengal.

It was now clear that Wavell was refusing to abandon Cabinet Mission Plan, while the British administration of that time was seeing Congress as its successor. They already dominated the interim government and were in majority, hence, HMG couldn't afford to please Muslim League at the cost of losing the support of Congress. They needed Congressmen for a quick transfer of power and the British departure more than the other groups, including the Muslim minority.

The Secretary of the State believed that they'd have to take sides since the settlement was nowhere in sight. He stated that siding with Congress would lead to chaos, but ignoring Congress and supporting Muslim League would cause civil war. "H.M.G. are... in my view, both cowardly and dishonest in this matter, and have so far refused to issue an unequivocal statement," said Viceroy Lord Wavell in a note from 4 November 1946. "Their attitude is that they dare not do anything which may upset Congress."[12]

November was about to end and the grouping issue was still stuck in limbo. It was obviously going to be the centre of debate on 9 December in the constituent assembly. Nehru wanted Muslim League to enter the constituent assembly on Congress' terms, otherwise, for him, they could no longer continue to work with the Muslims in the interim government. Jinnah on the other hand announced to boycott the constituent assembly session in case Congress continued its attitude. Wavell took leaders of both parties and left for London. This was his last major effort to bring both parties to an agreement but it didn't bear fruit either.

On 9 December, Congress called the session of the constituent assembly to frame the new constitution without taking the Muslims and other non-Congress groups of India in confidence. This was the point of no return. On 13 December 1946, Jinnah threatened Congress by calling for a sovereign state of Pakistan in his radio address to the

[12] 4 November 1946. Notes by Wavell and Abell. Transper of Power Papers v 9, p 1

American people. It was clear that 30% non-Muslims who lived in Muslim-majority regions and around 15% non-Hindus who lived in Hindu-majority regions would remain part of Pakistan and Hindustan respectively.

Jinnah wanted to balance the majority-minority ratio in India by giving the Muslims a dominating voice in one section of India through Pakistan along with the Hindus in another section of India through Hindustan, hence, bringing both regions on equal terms before anything else could be negotiated. The relation between these two sovereign states was kept vague in this speech. All people knew was that they would be on friendly terms.

> "As you know, of the many races, creeds and religions that inhabit the vast subcontinent of India, there are two major nations, the Hindus and Muslims. 100 millions of Muslims cannot be characterized as a minority. We are 70 million in the North-Western and North-Eastern zones of India. We constitute a majority of 70% against the Caste Hindus in these homelands of ours.
>
> We want the division of India into Hindustan and Pakistan because that is the only practical solution which will secure freedom for both Hindus and Muslims and the achievement of stable and enduring governments of Hindustan and Pakistan. Which, I am confident, will settle down as friends and neighbours like Canada and United States, and other sovereign states both in North and South America. Hindu India and Muslim India must be separated...
>
> One India is an impossible realization. It will inevitably mean that the Muslims will be transferred from the domination of the British to the Caste Hindu rule; a position that Muslims will never accept. As an all-India minority, we shall be under the rule of a permanent Hindu majority by about 3:1, which will virtually mean one nation ruling another by means of ballot

box... Such a government will neither command respect nor the acceptance and allegiance, and such a government will therefore be impossible.

It can only function by force, but It will never secure the willing approval and sanction of 100 millions of Muslims. Unless the gravity of the aspect of this problem is realized and tackled frankly and boldly by the British government, chaos is inevitable, which must have serious repercussions and en**danger the world peace**. Our scheme of division of India gives Hindus 3/4th of the country and the Muslims secure dominating voice in remaining one-quarter of India...

Muslims deserve freedom more than anyone else. Because love for freedom, fraternity and liberty is a lifeblood of their existence. But freedom must mean freedom, both, from the British exploitation and Hindu domination. 100 millions of Muslims will never agree merely to a change of masters."[13]13

Hopeless Viceroy now started working on a breakdown plan. He wanted to call off the British troops from the Southern parts of India to guard Dehli in case civil war broke out. After seeing Wavell's reaction and the mob's rule in various parts of India, the British administration decided to replace Lord Wavell with a new Viceroy and give him even more powers than his predecessors.

[13] Radio address to American People.

Chapter 14

Road to Independence

Contrary to popular belief, the British primarily wanted India under one government, and this also included Lord Wavell. He wanted May 16 Statement to work because apart from other issues, complete separation would lead to the division of armed forces. A united force was needed to safeguard the subcontinent as a whole during the British exit. Pethick-Lawrence also wanted one government in India, however, he wanted a strong centre instead of a weak one with autonomous zones.

> "The only justification for handing over to more than one authority is the conviction that to hand over to one authority will be unjust on merits and would be so contrary to the political realities that it will lead to civil war. But on that reasoning, it is worse still to hand over to more than one authority in a way which leaves the separated parts so vulnerable at the outset that they invite attack and have no chance of establishing themselves."[1]

One strong state in the subcontinent was in British interests to keep other powers in the region in check and to make sure that the state survived foreign invasions and could stand on its own economically. Several states also meant weak control over the region and dealing with several weak stakeholders instead of one strong government. However, by the end of 1946, certain elements of the British government were forced to treat Congress as their main successor because it dominated the interim government.

They also wanted to quit as soon as possible and due to Congress' attitude, they could no longer impose the 16 May Statement in its true essence, which was delaying their departure, while the strong centre was unacceptable to the millions of Muslims and non-Brahmins. This forced them to consider implementing Scheme B of the Cabinet Mission Plan as

[1] Transfer of Power Papers v 8.

a compromise, which Wavell and Muslim League opposed but Congress endorsed. Scheme B looked the same as Lala Lajpat Rai's idea from 1924, which proposed two independent, separate and sovereign states of Muslims and Hindus with partitioned Punjab and Bengal.

On 18 December 1946, the British Prime Minister, Clement Atlee, offered Lord Mountbatten, the great-grandson of Queen Victoria, to become the new and the last Viceroy of India. On 31 January 1947, Atlee officially told Wavell that he was being replaced by a new Viceroy. Mountbatten was to start his proper work as the new Viceroy of India in March. Wavell wanted phased withdrawal of the British administration and keep the final date of exit a secret to avoid creating panic, while Mountbatten argued that he'd only get involved if allowed to pull the administration out at once. This made HMG announce that they'd be leaving India no later than June 1948. The announcement was made on the 20th of February, which made rioting and attempts to grab power across India way worse.

Punjab was already becoming a warzone and Sikandar Hayat Khan used this opportunity to amp up his attacks on Punjab's government using Muslim League National Guard's para-military force. The Unionist Party's government under Khizar also became more aggressive and got several Muslim League members, including its women, arrested and tortured. In one instance, a group of arrested women was taken to a remote location in a police van. A smoke bomb was thrown in, the doors were locked from the outside and the van was left abandoned to make the prisoners suffocate to death. Other Muslim League women managed to find the van and broke the doors open to rescue their colleagues.

The situation in Punjab forced Khizar to resign from his ministry on the 2nd of March and the governor to impose Section 93. Meanwhile, in Bengal, Congress' militant wing, Hindu Mahasabha also started calling for the partition of the province. Nehru also endorsed this idea and demanded the same for Punjab. On 8 March 1947, Congress officially passed and adopted a resolution calling for the partition of Punjab on communal lines. Later, Bengal was also included.

> "Tragic events have demonstrated that there can be no settlement of the problem in the Punjab by violence and coercion, and that no arrangement based on coercion can last. Therefore it is necessary to find a way out which involves the least amount of compulsion. This would necessitate a division of the Punjab into two Provinces, so that the predominantly Muslim part may be separated from the predominantly non-Muslim part."[2]

On 13 March, one of the right-hand men of Nehru, Krishna Menon, sent a proposal to the new Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, pushing for the idea of Pakistan with partitioned Punjab and Bengal. Part of Jinnah and the Muslim League still believed that there could be a settlement between two regions without the partition of provinces if the principle of Pakistan was accepted. This is the reason why Jinnah Club released a statement on 14 March 1947 calling for a settlement between two regions without changing existing provincial boundaries.

> "The Executive Committee of the Jinnah Club, Aligarh, views with contempt and resentment the resolution of the Congress Working Committee advocating the partition of the Punjab... The Congress Working Committee will be well advised to withdraw its resolution immediately... The Executive Committee wishes to make it clear that... there is no alternative for the Congress but to accept the principle of Pakistan and make a compromise with the Muslim League for the purpose of co-operation between Hindustan and Pakistan on equal footing."[3]

> On 9 March, the co-founder of Muslim League, Sir Agha Khan, had also proposed a settlement instead of going for the Congress' idea of partition. He stated, "With a goodwill and common sense a Hindustan-Pakistan Confederation or alliance or dual realms, call it what you like, should be not only possible but not difficult."[4]

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[2] 8 March 1947. Congress Resolution no 3. Transfer of Power Papers v 9, pp 899-900
[3] Jinnah Papers v 1 part 1, pp 254-255
[4] Aga Khan to M.A. Jinnah. Ibid, p 210

Bengal Congress' leader and former Minister of Works, Mines and Power in the interim government, Sarat Chandra Bose, also criticised Congress' partition resolution and argued, "By accepting religion as the sole basis of the distribution of provinces, the Congress has cut itself away from its natural moorings and has almost undone the work it has been doing for the last 60 years." He concluded, "The resolution is the result of a defeatist mentality [and] is no solution of the communal problem."[5]

On the other hand, even before meeting Jinnah in person, Mountbatten already started to have negative views about him as he was told by Pethick-Lawrenece that Jinnah would be his "toughest customer". Meanwhile, upon their arrival, Lord Mountbatten's wife, Edwina Mountbatten, started to develop a romantic relationship with Jawaharlal Nehru, even though both were married. In the coming months, Nehru greatly used his extramarital affair with Lady Mountbatten to influence Lord Mountbatten's decisions. Ironically, Lady Mountbatten once owned a chameleon, an animal known for changing its colour, as a pet and named it 'Gandhi'.

A strong unitary centre was not acceptable to everyone, hence, it was becoming obvious that sovereign Pakistan would become a reality. Jinnah was still opposed to the sub-division of provinces, while Mountbatten told Jinnah that he'd only get truncated Pakistan with half of Punjab and Bengal and with no shared centre with Hindustan. Jinnah wanted provinces to remain united for several reasons.

First, both Punjab and Bengal were Muslim majority provinces and had to be included in Pakistan without changing their boundaries; second, Muslim India needed fertile lands of Eastern Punjab and the port of Calcutta in Western Bengal for economic survival; third, strong Pakistan with entire provinces could also negotiate for parity in the centre if still possible, instead of being at disadvantage during the talks;

[5] The Sole Spokesman by Ayesha Jalal

four, by having a non-Muslim population of Eastern Punjab and Western Bengal in Pakistan, Jinnah wanted to have the leverage to talk for the protection of minorities in Hindustan because Pakistan was to protect millions of Hindus living within its borders and in return force Hindustan to protect millions of Muslims trapped there; five, Jinnah knew that their sub-division would lead to an exchange of populations and mass migration, which would end in bloodshed.

This was the reason why he was also against the partition of Palestine. He didn't want to displace existing populations both in Palestine and India. He wouldn't have opposed the creation of a Jewish state if created through other means. Hence, on 8 April, Jinnah asked Mountbatten to avoid the partition of provinces because they "had national characteristics in common: common history, common ways of life; and where the Hindus have stronger feelings as Bengalis or Punjabis than they have as members of the Congress".[6]

However, Patel's told the British administration that "congress desired partition".[7] Nehru also affirmed, "The Punjab and Bengal will be partitioned; I am making this statement with all the responsibility I possess."[8] On 22 April, in a meeting with Mountbatten, Nehru made it clear that they weren't interested in forming a shared centre with Scheme B's truncated Pakistan either. Instead, they desired complete separation, so they would have a centre of their choice in the remaining parts of India, free from the influence of Muslim India's representatives.

On the 1st of May, Nehru wrote Mountbatten and blamed Muslim League's central command and Bengal League's leaders for orchestrating the Calcutta riots back in August of last year, even though no evidence existed to support his claims. When it came to the future of provinces, he made his party's position clear once more.

> "The Congress Working Committee met this afternoon and had the benefit of Gandhiji's presence and advice... Our

[6] Transfer of Power Papers v 10, p 159
[7] Ibid, pp 424-426
[8] Ibid, p 337

> committee are prepared to accept the principle of partition based on self-determination as applied to definitely ascertained areas. This involves the partition of Bengal and Punjab. As you know, we are passionately attached to the idea of a United India, but we have accepted the partition of India in order to avoid conflict and compulsion."[9]

In the month of May, Nehru tried to convince Mountbatten that the current interim government should be treated as the 'Union of India', and Pakistan's creation should be treated as a separation from it. This didn't make sense because the British still ruled the subcontinent and the Union of India didn't exist yet. Both Pakistan and Hindustan were going to be new dominions created after the British departure, instead of the former being a separation from so-called Mother India. Nehru asked Mountbatten to treat his government as Union's government to only allow Muslim India's provinces to decide whether they wanted to become part of Pakistan, the so-called new constituent assembly, or Hindustan.

To convince Mountbatten, Sardar Patel gave Mountbatten a false hope that they'd remain part of the British Commonwealth of Nations as a dominion for all times to come if treated like a Union. Ironically, Congress always opposed dominion status and it was one of the main reasons why there could be no settlement with the Muslim minority for decades, but now they were hinting at accepting dominion status for all times to come if the referendum was only held in the Pakistan regions and provinces were sub-divided.

This farce continued for three years, as Hindustan abandoned dominion status in 1950 after framing a new constitution which declared it a republic. And since the referendum was only held in Pakistan areas, people who haven't studied history in detail started treating Pakistan like a separation from the Union of India, which never existed. In reality, the word 'India' was used for the entire subcontinent and its name comes from the region surrounding the Indus river which

[9] Ibid, pp 517-519

flows throw present-day Pakistan, instead of present-day Hindustan. The latter is the land of Ganges river and not Indus. Truth became more distorted because Hindustan adopted the name 'Republic of India' through its constitution in 1950. It was like stealing someone else's identity, which also led to an identity crisis in Pakistan.

So, after the bait by Sardar Patel, Mountbatten openly supported Congress and ignored Jinnah's position. This also meant sharing details of new schemes exclusively with Nehru on the advice of Krishna Menon, who helped draft these schemes and was also one of the right-hand men of Nehru and Patel. He worked with Mountbatten as his Constitutional Adviser. Jinnah was shown the final scheme too late when he couldn't do anything to change it. The final scheme was to be officially announced on the 2nd of June 1947. "Those who commit acts of violence do so because they feel there is no strong central power to check them. With dominion functions, the central Government would form a strong centre and would have the necessary power to put down disorder," said Sardar Patel in an interview with Associated Press while pushing for a strong centre on the 9th of May.[10] He still wanted the transfer of power before the settlement with the Muslim League.

> "Secondly, lacking interference by a third party to whom either side could appeal, Congress and the Muslim League would settle their differences at once. If there were conflicts in the Cabinet on any question, the majority would rule... If the Muslim League insists it wants separation, then Congress will not compel them to remain by force. But it will result in dividing Bengal and the Punjab."[11]

On 17 May, Jinnah responded to the fate of Bengal and Punjab in a statement issued by the Muslim League, in which he not only called it an injustice to the Muslims but also to other non-Brahmin communities.

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[10] Ibid, p 717
[11] Ibid, pp 717-718

> "The Muslim League cannot agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab. It cannot be justified historically, economically, geographically, politically or morally. These provinces have built up their respective lives for nearly a century, administratively, economically and politically, and the only ground which is put forward for the partition is that the areas where the Hindus and Sikhs are in a majority should be separated from the rest of the provinces, on the ground that the Caste Hindus and Sikhs don't want to be under a government in which the Muslims will be in a majority. The same can be urged by the Muslims and others that they don't want to be under a Government in which the Caste Hindus are in a majority and therefore other provinces should also be partitioned.
>
> It may be noted that there will be nearly 25 million of Mussalmans under the Hindu Government in Hindustan and millions of other communities such as the Scheduled Castes, the Christians, Adibasis and Tribes. The principle underlying the demand for establishment of Pakistan and Hindustan is totally different... The Muslim League therefore cannot agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab and I do hope that His Majesty's Government, when they examine this demand will not accept it and... will both, in the name of justice and fair play, not submit… to this clamour. For it will be sowing the seeds of future serious trouble and the results will be disastrous for the life of these two provinces and all the communities concerned."[12]

According to Jinnah, the partition of Bengal would separate half of the province from Calcutta, which was the heart of Bengal. Its separation from the poverty-stricken Eastern zones of the province would make Bengal's economic survival difficult. He was also concerned about the future of minorities in both zones of the province.

[12] Jinnah Papers v 1 part 1, pp 776-777

> "Calcutta should not be torn away from the Eastern Bengal. It has been the heart of Bengal and the Province has developed and grown around this capital of Bengal which was for decades the capital of India before Delhi was established as capital. Merely because the majority of the Caste Hindu vocal section desires Bengal to be partitioned—for in Western Bengal there are 34% Muslims, and out of the remaining 66% the Scheduled Castes are 63% and Caste Hindus 37%, which is less than one third of the total population of the Western Bengal. I have every reason to believe that the Scheduled Castes are strongly opposed to the partition of Bengal because they rightly say that they will be divided into two parts, one at the mercy of the Caste Hindus in Western Bengal and the other at the mercy of the Muslims in Eastern Bengal."[13]

On 20 May, Eric Mieville, private secretary to Mountbatten, reported that Jinnah took his arm and said, "I am not speaking as a Partisan, but I beg you to tell Lord Mountbatten once again that he will be making a grave mistake if he agrees to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab."[14] Jinnah wrote a letter to Lord Mountbatten, protesting against the new scheme which was to be adopted in the coming weeks.

> "Your excellency doesn't understand that the Punjabi is a nation. Bengali is a nation. A man is a Punjabi or a Bengali first before he is a Hindu or a Muslim. If you give us those provinces you must under no condition partition them. You will destroy their viability and cause endless bloodshed and trouble."[15]

Mountbatten claimed that if that was the case then there wouldn't be a need to demand Pakistan because then everyone would be Indian

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[13] Ibid, p 777
[14] Ibid, p 836
[15] Jinnah to Mountbatten - May 1947

first before being a Muslim. Jinnah's statement about Punjabis and Bengalis identifying themselves as Punjabis and Bengalis first before being Hindus and Muslims was just wishful thinking and an argument that he used to ensure the unity of provinces.

In reality, things were different as Sikhs and Muslims were in conflict with each other for ages, while Caste Hindus declared themselves a separate nation in 1867, forcing the Muslims to do the same later on. Many non-Muslim Congressmen from Punjab were demanding the separation of Muslim India and Hindu India as well as the partition of their province for decades. On the other hand, communal issues, poor distribution of wealth and Hindu nationalism in Bengal had led to the creation of the Muslim League in the early 20th century.

On 26 April, Jinnah had already tried to prevent Bengal's partition by endorsing the idea of keeping the province united and letting it become a separate sovereign state instead of it remaining within Pakistan. "What is the use of Bengal without Calcutta; they had better remain united and independent," Jinnah stated. "I am sure that they would be on friendly terms with us."[16] After that, Suhrawardy contacted Sarat Chandra Bose who then started lobbying for this scheme in Congress' ranks. However, he was shut down by Patel in May. Patel asked Bose to back Congress' main leadership in the partition of Bengal. Bose responded:

> "I can say that it is not a fact that Bengali Hindus unanimously demand partition. As far as East Bengal is concerned, there is not the slightest doubt that the overwhelming majority of Hindus there are opposed to partition. As regards West Bengal, the agitation for partition had gained ground because the Congress came to the aid of the Hindu Mahasabha and also because communal passions have been roused among Hindus on account of the happenings since August last.

[16] Transfer of Power Papers v 10, p 452.

> The demand for partition is more or less confined to the middle classes. When the full implications of partition are realised and when people here find that all they will get for Western Bengal province will be roughly one-third of the area of Bengal and only about half of the total Hindu population in Bengal, the agitation for partition will surely lose support. I entirely agree with you that we should take a united stand; but I shall say at the same time that the united stand should be for a united Bengal and a united India. Future generations will, I am afraid, condemn us for conceding division of India and partition of Bengal and the Punjab."[17]

Bose was ignored by the Congress' central command. Nehru claimed that the idea of a united and separate Bengal was a Muslim trap against the Bengali Hindus, so they could be dominated later, hence, they shouldn't accept its unity unless the entire province was to become part of Hindustan. The idea of making Calcutta a free port open to both Western and Eastern zones of Bengal was also proposed. To make it more appealing, Mountbatten suggested letting it become a free port for six months to see if it worked for Congress or not before making the final decision on it, but this too was derailed by Patel, who claimed that he was not ready to concede Calcutta even for six hours.

This forced Mountbatten to group Eastern Bengal with the rest of Pakistan as East Pakistan if the region wished to join Pakistan instead of Hindustan. Mountbatten decided to merge Eastern Bengal with Pakistan because he thought that, for the time being, Bengal wouldn't be able to survive economically without Karachi's support after losing Calcutta. In short, just a few months before independence, Jinnah was fine with united Bengal becoming a separate sovereign state but half of it was grouped with Pakistan against his wishes.

On the 21st of May, Jinnah gave his historic interview to Doon Campbell of Reuters in which he raised the issue of partition once more.

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[17] Sarat Bose to Sardar Patel. Patel's Correspondence v 4, pp 45-46

> "The new clamour for a partition that has been started by a vocal section of caste Hindus in Bengal and by Sikhs in particular in the Punjab will have disastrous results if these two Provinces are partitioned, and the Sikhs in the Punjab will be the greatest sufferers... Similarly in Western Bengal, caste Hindus will suffer the most and so will the caste Hindus in Eastern Punjab.

This idea of partition is not only thoughtless and reckless, but... will be a grave error and will prove dangerous immediately and far more so in the future. Immediately it will lead to bitterness and unfriendly attitude between Eastern Bengal and Western Bengal and same will be the case with torn Punjab between Western Punjab and Eastern Punjab.

Partition of Punjab and Bengal, if affected, will no doubt weaken Pakistan to a certain extent. Weak Pakistan and a strong Hindustan will be a temptation for the strong Hindustan to try to dictate. I have always said that Pakistan must be sufficiently strong as a balance vis-à-vis Hindustan. I am therefore, deadly against the partition of Bengal and the Punjab and we shall fight every inch against it."[18]

Jinnah responded positively to the idea of a corridor which would connect Muslim India and Hindu India; however, later, Sardar Patel rejected the idea by calling it a "fantastic nonsense".[19] By backing the Lahore Resolution, Jinnah was still open to the idea of the Princely States maintaining their sovereignty and becoming part of groups as members of one or multiple confederations if the principle of Pakistan got accepted in its original form.

> "As regards the position of the [Indian] states... I wish to make it clear that the states are at liberty to form a confederation as one solid group or confederate into more than one group, or stand as individual states. It is a matter entirely for them to decide."[20]

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[18] Jinnah Papers v 1 part 1, p 843
[19] Ibid, p 937
[20] Ibid, p 844

While responding to the question about the inevitable division of the army, Jinnah stated that he wanted to divide armies between Hindustan and Pakistan but wanted them to sign defence pacts, so they could stand together against an oppressor, and remain on friendly terms. When asked about the nature of Pakistan, he made it clear that it'd be an inclusive and democratic state with a fully functional parliament, which would be the supreme authority in Pakistan.

> "The basis of central administration of Pakistan, and that of the units to be set up, will be decided no doubt by a Pakistan Constituent Assembly. But a government of Pakistan can only be a popular, representative and democratic form of government. Its Parliament, and the Cabinet responsible to the Parliament, will both be finally responsible to the electorate, and the people in general, without any distinction of caste, creed or sect."[21]

While talking about the status of minorities, Jinnah endorsed the idea of having safeguards for them in the constitution. Apart from special safeguards, they were also going to be treated as equal citizens of the state.

> "There is only one answer—the minorities must be protected and safeguarded. The minorities in Pakistan will be the citizens of Pakistan and enjoy all the rights, privileges and obligations of citizenship without any distinction of caste, creed or sect, and I have no doubt in my mind that they will be treated justly and fairly. The government will run the administration and control legislative measures by its Parliament and the collective conscience of Parliament itself will be a guarantee that the minorities need not have any apprehensions of any injustice being done to them.

[21] Ibid, pp 843-844

Over and above that, there will be provisions for the protection and safeguards for the minorities which in my opinion must be embodied in the constitution itself. And this will leave no doubt as to the fundamental rights of the citizens, protection of religion and faith of every section, freedom of thought and protection of their cultural and social life."[22]

When asked about Pan-Islamism, Jinnah considered it an outdated idea while stating:

> "The theory of Pan-Islamism has long ago exploded, but we shall certainly establish friendly relations and cooperate for mutual good and world peace, and we shall always stretch our hand of friendship to the near and Middle East and Far East after the establishment of Pakistan."[23]

On the morning of the 2nd of June 1947, Mountbatten summoned Indian leaders to discuss the final plan with them. He wanted their assurances before June 3. Power was to be transferred to two sovereign states of Pakistan and Hindustan, both successors to the Crown's Rule in the Indian subcontinent. NWFP was to become part of Pakistan or Hindustan. A referendum had to decide its fate. The province was not given the choice of independence from both as Jinnah, Gandhi, Mountbatten, and Nehru, all thought that the province was unlikely to survive economically on its own. Gandhi was even fine with giving the province to Pakistan without a referendum. When it came to Sindh, its assembly was to decide, whether to join Pakistan or Hindustan. Shahi Jirga was to decide the fate of Balochistan.

Meanwhile, in Punjab and Bengal; first, a joint session of the assembly was going to take place, which was to decide the future of the entire province, then separate sessions of their Western and Eastern zones were to follow. Now to keep these provinces united, all sessions of both Punjab and Bengal had to either vote for Pakistan or Hindustan. Since both were

[22] Ibid, p 845
[23] Ibid, p 843

Muslim-majority provinces, it was obvious that in the joint session, most would vote for Pakistan. In separate voting, the Western zone of Punjab and the Eastern zone of Bengal were to choose Pakistan as well. Then, it was going to be up to the non-Muslims of the Eastern zone of Punjab and the Western zone of Bengal to decide whether to keep their provinces united or get them divided. To keep them united, the non-Muslim-dominated regions of both provinces had to vote for Pakistan.

Nehru represented Hindus, Baldev Singh Sikhs and Jinnah Muslims. Before departing, Nehru and Baldev Singh assured Mountbatten that they would convince Congress Working Committee and Sikhs to accept the partition scheme before June 3, while less optimistic Jinnah told Mountbatten to wait for a week. Mountbatten told Jinnah that he needed answers before tomorrow. This forced Jinnah to visit Mountbatten at 11 p.m., just an hour before the deadline.

Jinnah spent half an hour 'conveying the protest of his Working Committee' against the partition. Jinnah said that he himself was willing to accept the plan but wasn't very optimistic about his party. Mountbatten knew that this was another attempt by Jinnah to stop partition, hence he was told, "If that is your attitude, then the leaders of the Congress Party and Sikhs will refuse final acceptance at the meeting in the morning; chaos will follow, and you will lose your Pakistan, probably for good." Jinnah answered, "What must be, must be."[24] Mountbatten wasn't pleased.

> "Mr Jinnah! I do not intend to let you wreck all the work that has gone into this settlement. Since you will not accept for the Moslem League, I will speak for them myself... I have only one condition, and that is that when I say at the meeting in the morning, 'Mr Jinnah has given me assurances which I have accepted and which satisfy me,' you will in no circumstances contradict that, and that when I look towards you, you will nod."[25]

[24] The Sole Spokesman by Ayesha Jalal, p 284
[25] Campbell-Johnson, Mission with Mountbatten, p 103

Jinnah, who was losing control over his followers and the party, did exactly what Mountbatten had told him. Nehru and Baldev Singh accepted the proposal openly the next morning at 10 a.m., while Jinnah merely nodded his head to give it a go. Both Congress and Muslim League were now either going to accept the plan as a settlement or a compromise. On the same day, Jinnah talked to his followers through radio and made it clear that he wasn't happy with the plan in its entirety and now it was up to his Working Committee to either accept it as a settlement or a compromise. He also told all communities to remain peaceful during the transfer of power.

> "The statement of His Majesty's Government embodying the plan for the transfer of power to the peoples of India has already been broadcast and will be released to the press to be published in India and abroad tomorrow morning... We must galvanize and concentrate all our energy to see that the transfer of power is effected in a peaceful and orderly manner. I most earnestly appeal to every community and particularly to Muslim India to maintain peace and order. We must examine the plan, in its letter and in its spirit and come to our conclusions and take our decisions...
>
> It is clear that the plan does not meet in some important respects our point of view and we cannot say or feel that we are satisfied or that we agree with some of the matters dealt with by the plan. It is for us now to consider whether the plan as presented to us by His Majesty's Government should be accepted by us as a compromise or a settlement. On this point, I do not wish to prejudge the decision of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, which has been summoned to meet on Monday, the 9th of June; and the final decision can only be taken by the Council according to our constitution, precedents and practice... Once more I most earnestly appeal to all to maintain peace and order."[26]

[26] Jinnah's address to the people of India. Jinnah Papers v 2, pp 19-21

On the other hand, Baldev Singh, in a letter to Mountbatten, had already shown optimism for the plan a day earlier.

> "Recent happenings in the Western Punjab have further proved that we can expect no security whatever under Muslim domination... My Sikh friends and I, however, do appreciate that the principle of the partition of the Punjab has been accepted and the anxiety you have expressed to help the community... My Sikhs friends and I accept the principle of division as laid down in the plan."[27]

Muslim League met on the 9th of June and discussed the plan in detail. Many Leaguers weren't happy with the way things turned out. They thought that truncated Pakistan didn't give them enough leverage to negotiate for Muslim minorities in the Hindustan region, while others thought that Muslims of Western Bengal and Eastern Punjab would become the victim of Caste Hindu domination and their struggle would be for nothing.

Abdul Rahim from Bengal greatly opposed the plan by claiming that the division of provinces "will always give rise to mutual quarrels between Hindus and Muslims". He further added that partition has weakened both Eastern Bengal and Western Punjab economically. He rightly pointed out that truncated Pakistan "had been offered by the Congress leaders even four years back and that if the Muslims were willing to accept it now, there was no sense in all the bloodshed which had taken place".

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the Prime Minister of Sindh, stated that the country they were getting in "truncated form" had "no life left" in it and "the best and most prosperous portion of Pakistan had been taken away". However, he also showed optimism for the future by claiming that at least Muslims would now be a sovereign nation in their own country and would be able to solve their issues on their own. "I wish to assure you on behalf of Sind that we have been working very

[27] Ibid, pp 833-835

hard to bring about numerous improvements in the province and vast construction schemes are under consideration, as a result of which our province will soon become prosperous." He concluded, "We have removed the consideration of Sindhi or non-Sindhi from our province and we will see that Sind will soon progress far."

Zahir-ul-Hasan Lari from U.P. called the plan "extremely disappointing" and called for its rejection. He complained that they made too many compromises and in the end not only lost half of Bengal and Punjab, but also Assam. He reminded everyone that this plan looked the same as Rajagopalacharia's scheme from 1942, which Gandhi proposed in 1944 and Jinnah rejected.

"The British Government have not accepted even one of our demands; they have all along tried to placate the Hindus. For instance, in the Gandhi-Jinnah talks, in Rajagopalacharia's formula, in Dr. Rajendra Prasad's book 'Divided India' a division of the country has been proposed on the same lines which have now been embodied in HMG's proposal," said Zahir-ul-Hasan. "The Pakistan which is being offered to us will be from every point of view so weak that we will find ourselves in serious difficulties." While raising the issue of Muslims in Hindu-majority areas he stated, "The Britishers have befooled you. What safeguards are there for the protection of the rights of Muslims in Muslim-minority provinces."

Ghulam Ali of Amritsar took a more extreme position. He compared the plan to the deal between Prophet Muhammad PBUH and the non-believers of Makkah. He argued, that deal also looked unfair to the Muslims in the beginning but later benefitted them. He stated that he'd be one of those stuck in Muslim-minority areas but was fully capable of killing more of them in return if his community got oppressed in Hindustan by the majority. He advised others to accept the plan.

Mazhar Ismail while representing Madras stated, "I belong to a Muslim minority province. We have undergone sacrifices for the achievement of Pakistan and if Quaid-i-Azam thinks it proper that we should accept the Plan, then we can have no objection to it. There is no communal quarrel in our province... and there is no cause of worry on account of the Muslims of Madras."

Pir Sahib Zakori Sharif from Frontier revealed that only after the League was beaten in NWFP, did Muslims of the said province see the truth. He said, "We considered the Congress as our organisation while we thought the Muslim League was a body consisting of the creatures of the British, but when we saw the atrocities which the Congress perpetrated on the Muslims, we were disillusioned and the spell which the Khan Brothers had cast over us was broken." He asked the Leaguers to accept the plan and assured that "the Muslim minorities" in Hindustan "should have no fear" because if something happened to them the Pashtoons would always be ready to defend their lives.

Maulvi Abdul Rahman from Central Provinces stated, "On the behalf of the Muslims I request you to accept HMG's Plan." Abdul Hamid from Assam, a region now included in Hindustan, concluded, "I belong to a Muslim-minority province and according to the new Plan I will be a resident of Hindustan; yet I support the Plan. If, according to this Plan, the majority of the Muslims become free, I prefer to remain as a slave. I urge that the Plan be accepted."[28]

Hence, in their public statement and resolution, Muslim League Working Committee accepted the plan as a "compromise". Congress, meanwhile, accepted the plan as a "settlement".[29]

> "The Council of the All India Muslim League, after full deliberation and consideration of the Statement of His Majesty's Government dated the 3rd of June, 1947, laying down the Plan of transfer of power to the peoples of India, notes with satisfaction that the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16th, 1946, will not be proceeded with, and has been abandoned. The only course open is the partition of India as now proposed in HMG's Statement of the 3rd June...
>
> The Council is of the opinion that although it cannot agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab or give its consent to

[28] Ibid, pp 840-845
[29] Ibid, pp 96-97

> such partition, it has to consider HMG's Plan for the transfer of power as a whole. The Council, therefore, hereby resolves to give full authority to the President of the All India Muslim League, Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah, to accept the fundamental principles of the Plan as a compromise."[30]

When Nehru read Muslim League's resolution regarding the plan, he wrote and complained to Mountbatten about League's attitude towards the plan.

> "I have just seen the text of the Resolution of the All India Muslim League. I am afraid this Resolution is not at all satisfactory. It begins by saying that the Council 'notes with satisfaction that the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16, 1946, will not be proceeded with and has been abandoned.' It is true that this plan has been modified to a large extent. But... we are still functioning in many ways in accordance with that Plan... It proceeds to say that the Council cannot agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab or give its consent to such partition, though it has to consider HMG's Plan as a whole.
>
> Thus the Council has definitely rejected one of the basic provisions in the new Scheme. In the third paragraph it is said that the Council accepts the fundamental principles of the Plan as a compromise... Very soon, as you know, the All-India Congress Committee will be meeting, and the fact that the Council of the Muslim League has not clearly accepted the Plan is sure to be pointed out and will affect people's decisions. I trust that before that happens, Mr Jinnah will express his full agreement with HMG's Scheme as a settlement."[31]

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[30] Ibid
[31] Ibid, pp 837-839

Sardar Patel also had something similar to say.

> "Perhaps you have already received a copy of the Resolution passed by the All India Muslim League Council... At one place, it says it cannot agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab or give its consent to such partition. At another place, it says it accepts the fundamental principles of the Plan of June 3rd as a compromise... Unless Mr Jinnah issues a clear statement accepting the Plan, there are bound to be difficulties at the AICC meeting."[32]

Jinnah stood with his "compromise" statement but decided against not signing the document which was to be treated as a 'final settlement'. Mountbatten wrote to Congress leadership on 12 June 1947 and took them in confidence.

> "I am writing to inform you that Mr Jinnah came to see me this evening to inform me officially as President of the All India Muslim League that the Council of the All India Muslim League had empowered him to accept the plan contained in His Majesty's Government's announcement of the 3rd June as a compromise.
>
> Subject to the All India Congress Committee accepting this plan, he has given me his word that he will sign a joint document on behalf of the All India Muslim League with such representative as the All India Congress Committee may appoint, accepting this plan as a settlement."[33]

After the announcement of June 3 Plan to the public, the violence across India intensified. Bacha Khan had raised the militant wing of Red Shirts by the name of Pakhtoon Zalme. In NWFP, they and Dr

[32] Ibid, p 839
[33] Ibid, pp 161-162

Khan Sahib's government clashed with pro-League elements. While this was happening in the province, certain elements started to demand an independent and sovereign state of Pashtuns. During a joint meeting of Red Shirts, the Pakhtoon Zalme, the Frontier Province Congress Committee and the Congress Parliamentary Party passed and adopted a resolution calling for the creation of Pathanistan.

> "That a free Pathanistan of all Pakhtoons be established. The Constitution of the State will be framed on the basis of Islamic conception, democracy, equality, and social justice. This meeting appeals to all Pathans to unite for the attainment of this cherished goal and not to submit to any non-Pakhtoon domination."[34]

On the other hand, several other Pashtoon tribes had already taken the other extreme position. By passing multiple resolutions, they accepted that it was their "birthright to have Pakistan" and the very "intention of the Hindus to dominate Muslim India would be crushed". "If Doctor Khan Sahib has a little sense in his head and if he is not a traitor to Pathans, he should resign along with his Ministry and leave it to the Muslim League to form one," the tribal leaders announced. "We warn the Patel Committee on the rights of minorities and Tribal people, to step down in Delhi. The consequences would be very grave otherwise."[35]

In Sindh, several Hindus started to depart for Hindustan. This was the result of both Congress pulling experienced non-Muslims out of Pakistan region to make the state non-functional and also radical Muslims forcing them to leave the region. Punjab was under mob rule. The clash between the Muslim League National Guard and the "Akali Fauj" of Sikh Leader, Master Tara Singh, became a norm. Jinnah released a statement asking Muslims to make peace with the non-Muslims, "If any Muslim still feels tempted to put his knife into a Hindu or a Sikh, he must realise that by doing so he will be stabbing Pakistan."[36]

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[34] Ibid, pp 566-567
[35] Jinnah Papers v 1 part 1, pp 345-346
[36] Jinnah Papers v 2, p 825

His words fell on deaf ears, hence, soon afterwards, he contact Mountbatten and said, "I don't care whether you shoot Moslems or not, it has got to be stopped." He further added that he "would support the Sikhs against the Muslims any time that any Muslims took unfair action against the Sikhs".[37] Meanwhile Tara Singh admitted that his people were involved in the violence against the Muslims by confessing, "We do not hesitate to admit that our brethren Sikhs and Hindus have also been guilty of most shameful attacks on women and children in the communal warfare."[38]

Nehru contacted Mountbatten and suggested that police should be pulled out of Lahore and martial law should be imposed. He suggested that troops should be utterly ruthless and "shoot at sight".[39] But there were hardly enough police or troops to maintain order across India. Several Muslim villages also came under attack in Bengal. Hindu Mahasabha started throwing bombs at mosques and ripping unborn babies out of their mothers' wombs, while Muslim mobs lynched non-Muslims and threw their dead bodies in ditches.

Meanwhile, Patel was already looking at the future of truncated Pakistan and considered it weak and easy to defeat. According to him, it would be unable to defend itself that effectively; let alone provide safeguards to the Muslim minority in Hindustan. In a private conversation, he bragged that "Hindustan could quickly make an end of its Muslim inhabitants if Pakistan did not behave". Patel's followers considered partition "a masterstroke" because he had "pushed the Muslims into a corner" and would "be able to destroy them before very long".[40]

This unrest was the result of public announcement about the sudden withdrawal of the British administration, which Wavell had feared, on top of the announcement about the partition of provinces. India was hardly a peaceful place before but these two events added fuel to the fire. Migration of population had also begun in Bengal and Punjab, and became more intense in the coming months. Muslims rushed towards

[37] Jinnah Papers v 5, p 458
[38] Ibid, p 459
[39] Jinnah Papers v 2, p 829
[40] Ibid, p xiv

Muslim-majority zones of the said provinces, while non-Muslims ran in the opposite direction.

As the situation in the streets became worse, the British administration started preparing for the referendum in NWFP and the sessions of assemblies in other Muslim-majority provinces of British India. On 20 June, Bengal's joint assembly voted in favour of Pakistan. In separate voting, the Eastern zone, dominated by Muslims, voted for Pakistan and the Western zone, dominated by non-Muslims, voted for the partition of their province by choosing Hindustan, instead of Pakistan. Muslim League sent delegations to Sikh leaders before voting took place in Punjab after three days. They promised Sikhs an autonomous zone of 'Sikhistan' in the Eastern zone of Punjab, provided they voted for Pakistan. However, their offer was rejected.

In the joint session, representatives of the Punjabi people voted for Pakistan. In separate voting, the Western zone, dominated by Muslims, voted for Pakistan, while the Eastern zone, dominated by non-Muslims, including Sikhs, voted for the partition of their province by choosing Hindustan. Later, Shahi Jirga of Balochistan chose Pakistan and a referendum was held in NWFP to decide the province's future. 49% of people didn't appear during the referendum because of various reasons, but most of them boycotted because they weren't given the option to remain fully independent. Of the remaining 51%, almost 100% voted in the favour of Pakistan. Before the referendum, Dr Khan Sahib got the governor of NWFP changed to ensure a free and fair result. The new governor was allegedly pro-Congress but the province still went for Pakistan instead of Hindustan.

For the last time, Jinnah pushed for a settlement on the 23rd of June 1947 by suggesting that both Pakistan and Hindustan should celebrate independence day on the 15th of August in Dehli, and hold sessions of their constituent assemblies there to keep the door open for future negotiations. Some Muslims also believed that both Pakistan and Hindustan were part of the Indian region, and the Pakistan region wouldn't abandon its Indian identity. They still expected settlement between the two regions. Jinnah's one follower A.H. Darbar wrote, "Thank you for your untiring and strenuous efforts in achieving the goal of Pakistan – a

sovereign Muslim State in India... My companions pray for your long life and wish you all success for the benefit of the Muslim India."[41] Mountbatten also thought that opening both constituent assemblies in Dehli would pave the road for future negotiations and considered it a good idea. So, he ended up discussing this move with the leaders of Congress. Mountbatten then reached Jinnah on the 25th of June.

> "Dear Mr. Jinnah, I am very sorry indeed to have to inform you that Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel and Dr Rajendra Prasad, with each of whom I discussed the proposal to hold the Pakistan Constituent Assembly in Delhi, were strongly opposed to this idea... I imagine that you will now prefer to drop this proposal and hold the Constituent Assembly in Karachi, which after all is your future capital city. May I say how much I regret my failure to get the Congress leaders to agree to what I thought was a very good suggestion."[42]

This was the moment when Jinnah finally accepted Pakistan as an independent, separate and sovereign state, and decided to look towards the future. After the creation of Pakistan, Jinnah gave an interview to an Egyptian news outlet in which he remembered:

> "We had almost agreed with the Congress on establishing a Federation between Pakistan and Hindustan with common defence, communication and foreign affairs. But the Congress people wanted to deprive us of our due share concerning communications, defence and foreign affairs. However, presently we want that our relations should be on the basis of mutual agreement. We are ready to organise our political, economic and military affairs in accordance with our common interests. We are also prepared to reduce customs barriers between us."[43]

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[41] Ibid, p 490
[42] Ibid, pp 504-505
[43] Ibid, p 135

On another occasion, he complained, "It is very difficult for me to understand what led His Majesty's Government to come to the conclusion of partitioning of Punjab and Bengal. In my opinion it is a mistake... But now we have accepted the plan as a whole and I feel confident that we shall make a good job of it."[44] Patel also had a lot to say later on. On 11 August 1947, during a lecture, Sardar Patel admitted:

> "People say that Congress partitioned India. It is true. We have taken this responsibility after proper thinking and not because of any fear or pressure. I was strong opponent of partition of India. But when I sat in the Central Government I saw that from a peon to high officers are infested with communal hatred. In such conditions instead of fighting and tolerating the interference of the third party, it is better to separate."[45]

On 10 October 1949, he addressed the Constituent Assembly of Hindustan on the same issue.

> "Mr Jinnah did not want a truncated Pakistan, but he had to swallow it. We said that these two provinces should be partitioned. I made a further condition that in two months' time power should be transferred and an Act should be passed by Parliament in that time, if it guaranteed that the British Government would not interfere with the question of the Indian states."[46]

Because of the way Mountbatten had handled partition, Jinnah abandoned his plans to retire in Bombay with his daughter and grandkids and formally told Mountbatten on the 2nd of July 1947 that

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[44] 22 June 1947. M.A. Jinnah to Patrick Lacey. Ibid, p 416
[45] Sardar Patel made up his mind on Pakistan before Mountbatten's plan by Counter View
[46] Ibid

he wished to become the Governor-General of Pakistan. Originally, Mountbatten was to become Governor-General of both new dominions after independence. While Congress happily invited Mountbatten to become Governor-General of their dominion, Pakistan chose Jinnah as its first Governor-General.

There are several discussions about the number of deaths the partition of Punjab and Bengal caused. Many put them around 1 million, but these are just guesses. A study conducted on partition in the 90s put the number of deaths around 180,000. Just as many, if not more lost their lives during Hindustan's takeover of Kashmir, Junagarh, Hyderabad and so on. According to Hindustan's official report, 40,000 died in Hyderabad alone. But those are just official numbers released by people behind its invasion. Non-official sources put the number of Muslim deaths between 100,000 to 400,000. The Princely State of Hyderabad wished to remain independent and maintain its sovereignty but was taken over by the Nehru government through a military operation.

On the other hand, since Congress had refused to celebrate independence day with Pakistan leaders in Dehli on the 15th of August 1947 and Mountbatten was no longer going to be Governor-General of both sovereign states, Pakistan was to hold the first session of its constituent assembly on 14 August and Hindustan on 15 August. However, both states officially gained independence on 15 August.

As per Islamic Calender, 27 Ramzan and the last Friday of the Holy month (aka Jumah-tul-Widah) were also on 15 August instead of 14 August. After launching Pakistan's constituent assembly on 14 August, Mountbatten went back to Dehli where the 'Independence of India Act 1947' was signed. It officially dissolved the Crown's Rule in the Indian subcontinent and created its two new successor states, Dominion of Pakistan and Dominion of Hindustan. With that, Mountbatten lost his position as the Viceroy of India and became the Governor-General of Hindustan with Nehru as its Prime Minister, while Jinnah became the Governor-General of Pakistan with Liaquat Ali Khan as its Prime Minister.

Chapter 15

Secular Pakistan

Even before the creation of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah was already looking for a first-class constitutionalist to help him frame the constitution of Pakistan. He wasn't asking for a Muslim religious scholar but a British constitutionalist who was most likely going to be a Christian of liberal values. On 16 June 1947, Mountbatten told his Chief of Staff, Lord Ismay.

> "Mr. Jinnah has asked me if I can find first-class constitutional lawyer and first-class draftsman to help Pakistan with their constitution making. They would be required for a period of six months. Most grateful if you could suggest any names. I would then put Mr. Jinnah in touch with them direct to settle terms."[1]

Lord Ismay also reached out to Jinnah with some suggestions.

> "Eric Mieville and I have been thinking over the question of finding a constitutional lawyer and a first-class draftsman for you. It is not going to be too easy. We wonder whether you have considered Sir Maurice Gwyer, who would be absolutely first class... Our next thought was Sir Cyril Redcliffe... He is probably one of the first three at the English Bar... I have today telegraphed confidentially to Sir Edward Bridges, who is head of the Civil Service and an old colleague of mine, to ask him whether he can suggest any names, and I will let you know as soon as he replies."[2]

Since the British were eager to leave, Jinnah couldn't find a foreigner to help him draft the constitution. So, now he had to look for a local. His second option wasn't a Muslim scholar either. He appointed a Dalit Hindu, Jogendranath Mandal, as Pakistan's first

[1] Jinnah Papers v 2, p 297
[2] 16 June 1947. Ibid, p 296.

Minister of Law and Labour. Meanwhile, the Minister of Foreign Affairs was an Ahmadi, Sir Zafarullah Khan and the Minister of Education was Fazlur Rehman, a liberal reformist of Islam. Even open-minded Muslims had suggested Jinnah to go for the appointment of a liberal scholar of Islam as the Minister of Law, to make liberalism more acceptable to the Muslim masses, but Jinnah went for a Hindu instead.

Mustafa Kemal Ataturk also had to make a few compromises after founding Modern Turkey. He declared Islam as the state religion for a couple of years before abolishing it. Still, he kept the Ministry of Religious Affairs intact. To 'Turkify' Islam, he gave translated Holy Qurans to the public to change their opinion about secularism. Non-Turks, most of whom happened to be non-Muslims, were also banned from having lucrative jobs in Turkey to uplift lower classes in the Turkish Muslim community. Due to this and the exchange of population between the Muslim State of Turkey and the non-Muslim States after the end of the Ottoman Empire, the Muslim population in Turkey continued to grow and neared 99.6%.

Kemal Ataturk had also raised the slogan of Jihad during his war against the Western forces, to inspire Muslim troops of Turkey, even though he was an atheist himself. When asked about the state religion of Turkey in an interview, Ataturk answered, "It already has one, the Mohammedan religion." Later he wanted to add that Islam also stood for the equality of all religions but decided to remain quiet.[3] So religion, language and ethnicity defined nationhood in Turkey despite being a secular state inspired by the French Revolution.

None of that took place in Pakistan however. Jinnah refused to declare Islam as the state religion, had no Ministry of Religious Affairs in his cabinet, stopped bills calling for Sharia and ended Martial Race Rule which stopped Bengalis, both Muslims and non-Muslims, from joining the Indian military under British rule earlier, hence, freeing them from modern slavery. Jinnah also wanted as many non-Muslims in Pakistan as possible, so he could negotiate for the Muslim minority in Hindustan. His original scheme of Pakistan envisioned 30% non-

[3] The Great Speechy by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk

Muslims in Pakistan compared to 0.4% in today's Turkey. Even after the partition of provinces, 22% of Pakistanis were still non-Muslims. However, most of them lived in East Pakistan. West Pakistan on the other hand, had a 5% non-Muslim population.

Contrary to popular belief, Jinnah didn't declare Urdu as the National Language, but State Language. He claimed that regional language, for which he used the term 'Official Language' for some reason, would remain intact, while he didn't mention National Language at all. Urdu is still the State Language and Official Language in many parts of present-day Hindustan, and it's used for state matters, instead of forcing the public to speak one language in their daily lives. In the same speech where Jinnah declared Urdu as State Langauge, he also invited Bengalis to join the Pakistan military after the end of Martial Race Rule.

> "Let me make it clear to you that the state language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language... Whether Bengali should be the official language of this province is a matter for the elected representatives of the people of this province to decide... They say that the Pakistan government and the East Bengal government are out to destroy your language. A bigger falsehood was never uttered by a man...
>
> Let me tell you in clearest language that there is no truth in rumours that your normal life is to be touched or disturbed, so far as your Bengali language is concerned. But ultimately it is for you, the people of this province, to decide what should be the language of your province... You may rest assured that the fullest provisions have been made for enabling the youths of this province to play their part in the defence of this state."[4]

So, while Turkey used ethnicity, religion and language to define nationhood, Pakistan, as Jinnah's 11 August speech also suggests, used the

[4] Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Speeches and Statements as Governor General of Pakistan, pp 175-185

shared territory to define what it meant to be a nation. Anyone, living within the boundaries of Pakistan was to be considered part of the nation, regardless of his religion, language and ethnicity. But what defines a politician more than his speeches are his actions. Hence, Jinnah's actions, which laid the foundation for a secular constitution, matter more than his speeches. Even his 11 August speech was just the icing on the cake.

Different countries have different forms of secularism because every society is unique and has its own ground realities. England has Christianity as the official religion but it's still fairly secular because its constitution believes in the sovereignty of the people. Denmark is considered the most non-religious society, yet Christianity is its state religion. However, with time it became something ceremonial to celebrate Christian traditions and holidays or to have capitalism as its economic system. Similarly, Bangladesh has kept Islam as a state religion so far but in the case of a clash between different ideologies, it upholds secularism.

American constitution doesn't mention secularism anywhere; instead, it proudly states, "In God we Trust." However, it's still secular because the first amendment makes it an inclusive constitution and guarantees religious freedom. In Hindustan, Nehru protested against the use of words like 'secular' and 'socialist' for Hindustan in the constitution but despite all that, it was still a secular constitution at its core because it contained personal laws for all religious communities. The word 'secular' was only added in 1975 after the forty-second amendment, and even today it only appears once in their constitution. Pakistan's secularism revolved around its definition of nationhood and its unique oaths, which are an important part of any constitution.

For example, on the 4th of November 1953, Queen Elizabeth II took her oath in front of the Archbishop, who asked, "Will you to the utmost of your power maintain the Laws of God and the true profession of the Gospel? Will you to the utmost of your power maintain in the United Kingdom the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law? Will you maintain and preserve inviolably the settlement of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, as by law established in England?" In the presence of the Holy Bible, she replied, "All this I promise to do… So help me God."

This oath reveals a lot about the origin of Classical Liberalism in the West. Countries like England have maintained their Christian identity so far while being inclusive at the same time. Their moderate interpretation of secularism comes from the Protestant Christian movement, and their oaths define what kind of states they have today. Normally, secular states, including modern Western states, have two types of oaths. Religious oaths for the believers end with "so help me God". Believers also swear in the presence of the Holy Book. Recently, on the 20th of January 2021, Joe Biden, an American Christian, placed his hand on the Bible and swore a presidential oath which ended with "so help me God".

Meanwhile, non-believers affirm an oath without the Holy Book and references to God. In 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru, an atheist, affirmed an oath as the Prime Minister of Hindustan, while Lord Mountbatten, a Christian, swore an oath as the Governor-General of Hindustan. There were oaths for all believers as well as non-believers in Hindustan, just like in modern secular states. It symbolises inclusivity. In Pakistan, however, Jinnah, who was inspired by English Liberalism, went a bit further and got religious oaths removed entirely. Even if you were a Muslim, you still had to affirm an oath like a non-believer. Jinnah considered it unnecessary for a political leader to put his religion on display, even during an oath. The only thing that mattered to him was the person's competence.

On Jinnah's request, the Earl of Listowel received a letter on the morning of the 10th of August 1947. The letter was written to make some changes to the oaths.

> "Alterations suggested by Jinnah for Governors and Ministers in oaths of Allegiance and Office and Secrecy [are] substitution of 'solemnly affirm' for 'swear' and omission of words 'so help me God'... I propose to keep to forms already agreed for India."[5]

[5] Transfer of Power Papers v 12, p 647.

Hence, both Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan, despite being Muslims, affirmed oaths as the Governor-General and the Prime Minister of Pakistan respectively by merely holding a piece of paper like atheists. Jinnah repeated his oath after the Chief Justice of Dominion of Pakistan.

> "I, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, do solemnly affirm true faith and allegiance to the constitution of Pakistan as by law established and that I will be faithful to His Majesty King Geoge VI, his heirs and successors, in the office of Governor General of Pakistan."[6]

Sample of Oath for Governor-Generals of Pakistan in 1947

> "I, ..., do solemnly affirm true faith and allegiance to the constitution of Pakistan as by law established and that I will be faithful to His Majesty King Geoge VI, his heirs and successors, in the office of Governor General of Pakistan."

Sample of Oath for Ministers and Chief Commissioners of Pakistan in 1947

> "I, ..., do solemnly affirm in the Office of ... I will bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of Pakistan as by law established and that I will do right to all manner of people after the laws and usages of Pakistan without fear or favour, affection or ill-will."

Sample of Oath for Secrecy in Pakistan in 1947

> "I, ..., do solemnly affirm that I will not directly or indirectly communicate or reveal to any person or persons any matter which shall be brought under my consideration, or shall

[6] A Politician Named Jinnah - Definitive Edition (Documentary) by MD Umair Khan and Fatima Javed, Audio Recordings start at 2:10:36

become known to me as ..., except as may be required for the due discharge of my duties as ....”[7]

With these oaths, Jinnah practically separated religion and the matters of the state. He made religion strictly a private matter in politics and opened the door for everyone to become the Prime Minister of Pakistan, whether he or she was a Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, Christian, Parsi, Agnostic, Atheist or someone else. Jinnah’s interpretation of secularism in 1947 exceeded that of modern Western states, as many of them still have religious oaths as an option.

A pet project of Punjab’s Chief Minister by the name of ‘Department of Islamic Reconstruction’ later emerged but it was quickly abandoned and there are no records of it being discussed at the constituent assembly in Jinnah’s presence or having his blessing. No one knows why Chief Minister conceptualised this department. The theories range from the creation of the “Islamic Caliphate” to the “Liberal and Multi-Party Parliamentary Democracy”, but those are all just conspiracy theories and wishful thinking of different people with no evidence.

On the contrary, some progressive people claim that Pakistan’s first national anthem was written by a Hindu, Jagan Nath Azad. However, that’s not true either. It was a poem by the name of ‘Tarana-e-Pakistan’ or ‘Anthem of Pakistan’ which was later adopted as a song. It only contained the word ‘Anthem’ in it but it was never adopted by the state as a national anthem officially. However, it’s still quite significant because a Hindu was writing patriotic songs for the new State of Pakistan as he too expected just treatment in this new Muslim-majority state.

On 11 August 1947, Jinnah addressed the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, and verbally gave his vision for a secular state in his historic speech. First, Jinnah declared that the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan would be a supreme body, answerable to no other authority, including religious.

[7] Jinnah Papers v 5, p 6

> "I sincerely hope that with your support and your co-operation we shall make this Constituent Assembly an example to the world. The Constituent Assembly has got two main functions to perform. The first is the very onerous and responsible task of framing the future constitution of Pakistan and the second of functioning as a full and complete sovereign body as the Federal Legislature of Pakistan...
>
> Remember that you are now a sovereign legislative body and you have got all the powers. It, therefore, places on you the gravest responsibility as to how you should take your decisions. The first observation that I would like to make is this: You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a government is to maintain law and order. Every life, every property and the religious beliefs should be fully protected by the State at any cost."

Jinnah then highlighted the issues of corruption and nepotism and asked the government to address these with an iron fist. While highlighting the issue of provinces, he advised everyone to move forward, as they were now bound by the settlement.

> "I know there are people who do not quite agree with the division of India and the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. Much has been said against it, but now that it has been accepted, it is the duty of every one of us to loyally abide by it and honourably act according to the agreement which is now final and binding on all."

While focusing on poverty and the problem of sectarianism, Jinnah argued that the sovereignty of the people was the only way to move forward in the diverse society of Pakistan. According to him, the lack of secular values and unity amongst the masses was the reason why the British dominated the people of the Indian subcontinent in the first place.

> "If we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs to, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges, and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make.
>
> I cannot emphasize it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community, because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on, and amongst the Hindus, you have Brahmins, Vaishnavas, Khatris, also Bengalis, Madrasis and so on, will vanish.
>
> Indeed if you ask me, this has been the biggest hindrance in the way of India to attain the freedom and independence and but for this, we would have been free people long long ago. No power can hold another nation, and especially a nation of 400 million souls in subjection; nobody could have conquered you, and even if it had happened, nobody could have continued its hold on you for any length of time, but for this. Therefore, we must learn a lesson from this."

Jinnah asked people to learn from their past and not make the same mistakes in the new State of Pakistan. Just like how he studied about Protestantism and English Liberalism while in London, he now taught others about its brief history in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. According to him, they were starting in better times and wouldn't have to

face the same conflicts in Pakistan before adopting liberalism to finally solve them.

> "You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place or worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the State. As you know, history shows that in England, conditions, some time ago, were much worse than those prevailing in India today. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other. Even now there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class.

Thank God, we are not starting in those days. We are starting in the days where there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State. The people of England in course of time had to face the realities of the situation and had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by the government of their country and they went through that fire step by step.

Today, you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist; what exists now is that every man is a citizen, an equal citizen of Great Britain and they are all members of the Nation. Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State."

As usual, Jinnah called equality, justice and fair play his guiding principles, as he always did when asked about the nature of Pakistan's Constitution.

> "Well, gentlemen, I do not wish to take up any more of your time and thank you again for the honour you have done to me… My guiding principle will be justice, fair play and

> complete impartiality, and I am sure that with your support and co-operation, I can look forward to making Pakistan as one of the greatest nations of the world."[8]

Jinnah assured the people that he wouldn't introduce those kinds of laws that might affect his own lifestyle. On 14 August 1947, which is now celebrated as independence day in present-day Pakistan, Mountbatten congratulated Pakistan and Hindustan on the eve of their independence. He praised King Akbar – The Great for being an inclusive and tolerant king in the age of brutality.

> "Tomorrow, two new sovereign States will take their place in the Commonwealth; not young nations, but the heirs of old and proud civilisations... May I remind you that at the time when the East India Company received its Charter, nearly four centuries ago, your great Emperor Akbar was on the throne, whose reign was marked by perhaps as great a degree of political and religious tolerance...
>
> I honestly believe, generations of our public men and administrators have been influenced. Akbar's tradition has not always been consistently followed, by British or Indians, but I pray, for the world's sake, that we will hold fast, in the years to come, to the principles that this great ruler taught us."[9]

Jinnah also praised the principles followed by this secular ruler from the subcontinent. Since he was considered a controversial figure amongst conservatives because of his religious innovations, Jinnah claimed that Akbar's actions were not in conflict with the soul of Islam, and advised people to follow these principles.

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[8] National Debates. Records. 11 August 1947. Various corrections through surviving audio recordings

[9] Ibid. 14 August 1947

> "It will be our constant effort to work for the welfare and well-being of all the communities in Pakistan, and I hope that everyone would be inspired by the ideas of public service, and they will be imbued with the spirit of co-operation and will show their political and civic virtue, which go to make a great nation...
>
> The tolerance and good-will that the great Emperor Akbar showed to all the non-Muslims is not of recent origin. It dates back thirteen centuries ago when our Prophet not only by words but by deeds treated the Jews and Christians handsomely after he had conquered them.
> He showed to them the utmost tolerance and regard and respect for their faith and beliefs. The whole history of Muslims, wherever they ruled, is replete with those humane and great principles which should be followed and practised by us."[10]

Jinnah delivered his one of the greatest speeches on the 15th of August 1947, the real independence day of the independent, separate and sovereign State of Pakistan.

> "Citizens of Pakistan! It is with feelings of greatest happiness and emotion that I send you my greetings. August the 15th is the birthday of the independent and sovereign State of Pakistan. It marks the fulfilment of the destiny of the Muslim nation which made great sacrifices in the past few years to have its homeland. At this supreme moment, my thoughts are with those valiant fighters in our cause who readily sacrificed all they had, including their lives, to make this Pakistan possible. Pakistan will remain grateful to them and cherish the memory of those who are no more."

[10] Ibid

As usual, Jinnah didn't forget about the rights of non-Muslims living in Pakistan and also ensured the world that Pakistan wanted to live peacefully with its neighbours and the world as a whole. He took non-Muslims in confidence and ensured them that Pakistan will treat them justly.

> "The creation of the new State has placed a tremendous responsibility on the citizens of Pakistan. It gives them an opportunity to demonstrate to the world how can a nation, containing many elements, live in peace and amity and work for the betterment of all its citizens, irrespective of caste or creed.
>
> Our object should be peace within and peace without. We want to live peacefully and maintain cordial and friendly relations with our immediate neighbours and with the world at large. We have no aggressive designs against anyone. We stand by the United Nations Charter and will gladly make our full contribution to the peace and prosperity of the world...
>
> Let us impress the minorities by word, deed and thought that as long as they fulfil their duties and obligations as loyal citizens of Pakistan, they have nothing to fear. To the freedom-loving tribes on our borders and the States beyond our borders, we send our greetings and assure that Pakistan will respect their status and will extend to them its most friendly cooperation in preserving peace. We have no ambition beyond the desire to live honourably and let others live honourably."

He then greeted Muslims on Jummah-tul-Wida, which also happened to be on 15 August 1947. It was also the 27th of Ramzan.

> "Today is Jummah-tul-Wida, last Friday of the holy month of Ramzan, a day of rejoicing for all of us wherever we may be in this vast subcontinent and for the matter of that throughout the world. Let the Muslim congregations in their thousands, in all

> the mosques, bow in all humility before the Almighty and thank Him for His eternal kindness and generosity, seeking His guidance and assistance in the task of making Pakistan into a great State and themselves into its worthy citizens."

He knew that Pakistan was a land full of natural resources, but they were useless unless utilised through hard work, day and night. There was no shortcut to developing Pakistan.

> "Finally, let me tell you, fellow citizens, Pakistan is a land of great potential resources. But to build it up into a country worthy of the Muslim nation, we shall require every ounce of energy that we possess and I am confident that it will come from all whole-heartedly. Pakistan Zindabad!"[11]

On the same day, Pakistan's flag was discussed at the constituent assembly. It was a non-religious flag which stood for co-existence between the majority, which happened to be Muslim at the time and symbolised by the green colour, and minorities, the non-Muslims symbolised by the white colour. It also showed commitment to education, progress and enlightenment through its crescent and the star. Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan called it the flag of every Pakistani and revealed that the white colour symbolised seven colours of the spectrum, and stood for every minority, even the oppressed communities of the future.

> "More than one-fourth of the flag is white, and, as my Honourable friends know, white is made up of seven different colours and thank God we have not got seven different minorities in Pakistan. Therefore, there is room for not only all the minorities that are today but for any other minorities that might spring up hereafter."[12]

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[11] Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Speeches and Statements as Governor General of Pakistan, pp 55-56

[12] National Debates. Records. 15 August 1947

> Two days later, on 17 August, it was Sunday, the Christian Holiday. Jinnah took part in prayers at a Church in Karachi.[13] This wasn't something new for him. He used to visit Hindu festivals with Tilak during his early years in Congress. Jinnah was just being himself, a leader who believed in religious tolerance, secularism and pluralism. He had insisted, "The minorities have to be treated not only justly but generously in Pakistan. The same should be expected from the Congress Ministries."[14]

Due to illness and the takeover of bureaucracy, Jinnah started losing power over state affairs and not only faced mutiny but actions that were taken behind his back. Fake quotes also started to emerge in the newspapers even during his lifetime. At one stage, the opportunistic people around him pushed him to contact the Red Shirts and offer them an alliance.

> "Khan Sahib, I know that you are a man of character and integrity. It is men like you whose help I need to build up Pakistan. As it is, I am surrounded by thieves and scoundrels and through them, I can do little for the poor Muslims who have suffered so much... I want peace, believe me, so that I can do something for the masses.
>
> I have been anxious to convert the League into National League, open to every loyal citizen of Pakistan. But I am being attacked by mad mullahs and extremists who are out to create trouble for me. That is exactly why I want you and your colleagues to join the League and help me in ousting these dangerous elements."[15]

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[13] Indian Summer (1951) by Wilfrid Russell
[14] Jinnah Papers v 2, p 419
[15] M.A. Jinnah to Dr Khan Sahib

Due to their previous political differences, the arrangement never worked. However, in the coming years, Bacha Khan and his followers embraced Pakistan and remained loyal to the State, even though the State itself greatly mishandled genuine issues of non-Punjabi provinces.

While Jinnah continued to lose his influence over state matters, he kept preaching Classical Liberalism and modernity on various occasions. On 25 August 1947, when asked about forced purdah in Pakistan, Jinnah was glad that it was on its way out and that society in general was becoming a safer place for women.

> "The position of women is already equal in law to that of men. It may be expected that their participation in civic affairs and in the professions will increase, and that the institution of purdah, which is the result of tradition and not of the teachings of the Quran, will gradually disappear. In the old, old days it was good idea, since in the autocratic past a king or chieftain might take to himself any beautiful woman he saw, and a man was wise indeed to keep his women under cover.
>
> Custom throughout the world tends to outlive the reason for its origin, and this one is no exception. In the modern state such a precaution is not necessary, and it is already on the way out. You may recall that our women voted by the thousands in the recent boundary plebiscites; last spring, in Peshawar, thousands of them, veiled and unveiled, participated for the first time in political demonstrations of Muslim unity, there and elsewhere in the North-West Frontier Province. They will enter more and more into the whole life of the country."

While talking about the nature of the State, he reaffirmed that it'd be a modern and progressive State, with free compulsory education for all.

> "We expect to evolve a progressive, democratic government, in line with the Muslim belief in the equality of all men, and to work for international peace. As I have said many times before,

> Pakistan guarantees the just and equal treatment of all citizens, Muslim or non-Muslim, with freedom of worship, speech, press and assembly.
>
> We have already provided for the compulsory elementary education, and one of our major objectives is to increase the educational facilities of the country, with more schools and universities open to all, to eradicate as quickly as possible the illiteracy of perhaps 90% of our people and to offer the best possible training for the technicians, scientists, businessmen, doctors and civil servants of the future."

While talking about the issues of tribal areas, he pointed out that it was the British policy to keep the Pashtun areas backwards, "The present troubles in the North-West Frontier Province are a hangover from old political alignments and quarrels, stirred up from the outside." He concluded by admitting that Pakistan had religious fanatics and many of his colleagues didn't agree with his religious views, "There are fanatics in all countries, and of course we have some... Some of my friends would not consider me an orthodox Muslim."[16] On 17 September 1947, Jinnah appealed to the Muslims to refrain from attacking minorities, something which peaked after the populations were forced to migrate.

> "My advice to Mussalmans in Pakistan and outside is that it will be most unwise on their part wherever they are in the majority to resort to retaliation or adopt any action in spirit of revenge. Apart from such action being contrary to the Islamic teachings, it is also not in our interest to do so, and such action will serve no useful purpose as a relief to those Mussalmans who happen to be minorities in Hindustan or elsewhere in this subcontinent."[17]

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[16] Jinnah Papers v 5, pp 118-121

[17] Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Speeches and Statements as Governor General of Pakistan, p 70

On another occasion he lamented:

> "We have undoubtedly achieved Pakistan and that too without bloody war and practically peacefully by moral and intellectual force and with the power of pen... Are we now going to besmear and tarnish this greatest achievement for which there is no parallel in the whole history of the world by resorting to frenzy, savagery, and butchery? And will this lead us anywhere?"[18]

By highlighting the provinces of Punjab and Bengal, he called the Boundary Commission "wrong, unjust and perverse" but asked people to respect it and remain peaceful because they had accepted the plan and it was "binding" upon them. He concluded, "It is now up to you to work, work and work; and we are bound to succeed; and never forget our motto – Unity, Discipline and Faith." [19]On 11 October he stated that the creation of Pakistan was not the end itself but means to an end. "The idea was that we should have a state in which we could live and breathe as free men," said Quaid-e-Azam while continuing with a hope that in Pakistan people would practice social justice and fair play as taught by their faith, and minorities would be won over though "fair" and "generous treatment".[20]

On 25 October he stated, "The minorities in both the Dominions must be made to feel that their life, property and honour are absolutely safe and secure and they will get without question, a fair deal from their respective governments." At that stage, Jinnah became totally opposed to forming any shared centre with Hindustan. He started using the word 'India' for Hindustan like the neighbouring state itself. He rejected the idea of a union by stating that Pakistan would "never agree" to forming a union "between the two sovereign states with one common centre".[21]

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[18] Jinnah Papers v 5, p 163
[1919] Ibid, pp 163-614
[20] Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Speeches and Statements as Governor General of Pakistan, p 74
[21] Ibid, pp 82-83

Then he returned to the issues of minorities and asked everyone to remember his 11 August speech.

> "Minorities belonging to different faiths living in Pakistan or Hindustan do not cease to be citizens of the respective States by virtue of their belonging to a particular faith, religion or race. I have repeatedly made it clear, especially in my opening speech to the Constituent Assembly, that the minorities in Pakistan would be treated as our citizens and will enjoy all the rights and privileges that any other community gets.
>
> Pakistan shall pursue that policy and do all it can to create a sense of security and confidence for the non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan. Every citizen is expected to be loyal to the state and to owe true allegiance to it. The arm of law should be strong enough to deal with any person, section or body of people that is disloyal to the state. We do not, however, prescribe any school boy tests of their loyalty. We shall not say to any Hindu citizen of Pakistan 'if there was war, would you shoot a [Hindustani] Hindu'."[22]

On 30 October Jinnah asked Muslims to refrain from attacking non-Muslims even if Muslims were being mistreated in Hindustan. He called it their sacred duty to protect their non-Muslim neighbours from fanatics.

> "Remember that scrupulous maintenance and enforcement of law and order are the prerequisites of all progress. The tenets of Islam enjoin every Mussalman to give protection to his neighbours and to the minorities regardless of caste and creed.
>
> Despite the treatment which is being meted out to the Muslim minorities in India, we must make it a matter of our prestige and honour to safeguard the lives of the minority communities and to create a sense of security among them. I would like to

[22] Ibid, pp 84-85

> impress upon every Mussalman, who has at heart the welfare and the prosperity of Pakistan, to avoid retaliation and to exercise restraint."[23]

While talking to the youth the next day, he called them "nation-builders of tomorrow" who must fully equip themselves with "discipline, education and training for the arduous task lying ahead" of them.[24]24 On November 27, 1947, he criticised the condition of Pakistan's education system calling it "very poor". According to him, education not only meant producing academics and improving people in "scientific and technical education" or "commerce, trade" and "planned industries" but also creating better, civilized and peaceful citizens in Pakistan by improving their character.[25]25

On 19 December, he admitted that Pakistan's society was too conservative to become completely multicultural and inclusive overnight, and said that "the time" for that had "not yet come". Jinnah argued that slogans of inclusiveness had "no foundation in reality" when it came to Pakistan. However, he was hopeful that the change is "not irrevocable" and society of the country would evolve as "nothing is static in politics", and it all depended on "progress".[26]26 The newly created State of Pakistan was going through tough times socially, politically and economically, hence, on 28 December, Jinnah addressed the people.

> "We are going through fire: The sunshine has yet to come. But I have no doubt that with unity, faith and discipline we will not only remain the fifth largest State in the world but will compare with any nation of the world. Are you prepared to undergo the fire? You must make up your mind now. We must sink individualism and petty jealousies and make up our minds

[23] Ibid, p 95
[24] Ibid, p 100
[25] Ibid, pp 104-105
[26] Ibid, p 110

> to serve the people with honesty and faithfulness. We are passing through a period of fear, danger and menace. We must have faith, unity and discipline."[27]

After the riots of January in Karachi, Jinnah had tears in his eyes as he visited riot-hit areas and refugee camps on the 9th of January 1948. He understood the "feeling of the Muslim refugees and those who have suffered", yet asked them to "act as responsible men" instead of getting involved in unlawful activities.

> "I once more want to impress upon all Muslims that they should fully cooperate with the Government and the officials in protecting their Hindu neighbours against these lawless elements, fifth-columnists and the cliques who are responsible for creating these disturbances, and restore trust and confidence amongst all the communities.
>
> Pakistan must be governed through the properly constituted Government, and not by cliques, or fifth-columnists or a mob, and the Pakistan Government are going to take the severest possible measures against the offenders, and they shall be dealt with sternly and ruthlessly.
>
> I fully sympathize with Hindus, many of whom have been misled by propaganda that is being carried on to pull them out of Sind, with an ulterior motive, and as a result many innocent Hindus have seriously suffered."[28]

On 25 January, when he heard complaints about 'Pakistan's democratic system being against Islam', he responded:

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[27] Ibid, p 118
[28] Ibid, pp 119-120

> "Islam... is based on the highest principles of honour, integrity, fair play and justice for all... In Islam there is no difference between man and man. The qualities of equality, liberty and fraternity are the fundamental principles of Islam... Thirteen hundred years ago he (Prophet Muhammad PBUH) laid the foundation of democracy."[29]

On January 30, 1948, he addressed the people upon the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. He was killed by a Hindu fanatic, Nathuram Godse, of RSS and Hindu Mahasabha, for allegedly conceding too much to the Muslims and letting Pakistan become a reality. Earlier, Gandhi had shown interest in spending the rest of his life in Pakistan and working for the well-being of the Hindu minority, and Jinnah accepted his offer.

> "I am shocked to learn of the most dastardly attack on the life of Mr. Gandhi, resulting in his death... Whatever our political differences, he was one of the greatest men produced by the Hindu community, and a leader who commanded their universal confidence and respect.
>
> I wish to express my deep sorrow, and sincerely sympathize with the great Hindu community and his family in their bereavement at this momentous, historical and critical juncture so soon after the birth of freedom and freedom for Hindustan and Pakistan. The loss to the Dominion of India is irreparable, and it will be very difficult to fill the vacuum created by the passing away of such a great man at this moment."[30]

On 3 February Quaid visited the Parsi community of Sindh at the Katrak Parsi Colony in Karachi.

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[29] Ibid, p 127
[30] Ibid, p 128

> "I assure you that Pakistan means to stand by its oft-repeated promises of according equal treatment to all its nationals irrespective of their caste and creed. Pakistan which symbolizes the aspirations of a nation that found itself in a minority in the Indian subcontinent, cannot be unmindful of the minorities within its own borders."[31]

On 14 February he addressed a gathering of the civil officers of Balochistan, and made it clear that the constituent assembly was a supreme body, sovereignty rested with the people and democracy was the only way forward.

> "Pakistan is now a sovereign State, absolute and unfettered and the Government is in the hands of the people. Until we finally frame our constitution which, of course, can only be done by the Constituent Assembly; our present provisional constitution based on the fundamental principles of democracy, not bureaucracy or autocracy or dictatorship, must be worked."[32]

Before the creation of Pakistan Jinnah had written in his notes that Pakistan not only meant a free land but also stood for "sovereignty of the people". Since there was no concept of a Church in Islam, he concluded that Islam also stood for people's empowerment.[33] On 19 February he talked to the people of Australia. In response to the question about how Pakistan was to survive when it was divided into two parts, and between both was the Dominion of Hindustan/India, Jinnah stated they'd manage through "faith in Almighty God, in ourselves and in our destiny". Jinnah called Pakistan a Muslim-majority state, which, on the individual level, brought people together because of their common faith, but the constitution on top was to avoid becoming religious.

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[31] Ibid, p 131
[32] Ibid, pp 135-142
[33] Jinnah Papers v 1 part 1, p 974

> "The great majority of us are Muslims. We follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH. We are members of the brotherhood of Islam in which all are equal in rights, dignity and self-respect. Consequently, we have a special and a very deep sense of unity. But make no mistake: Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like it. Islam demands from us the tolerance of other creeds and we welcome in closest association with us all those who, of whatever creed, are themselves willing and ready to play their part as true and loyal citizens of Pakistan."[34]

Later he met American Ambassador and reminded him how Muslims of India and the United States stood "shoulder to shoulder" in World War 2 "in defence of democracy" against Hitler's fascism. According to him, Pakistan and the United States shared principles of "independence and freedom". He concluded, "I am glad to learn that Your Excellency and the great country and people you represent, will give your cooperation to us in order to advance our economic and cultural relations for the mutual benefit of both the countries. I am hopeful that good relations and friendship already existing between the peoples of America and Pakistan will be further strengthened."[35]

Quaid-e-Azam met the Turkish Ambassador on the 4th of March 1948. He fondly recalled the way he and other progressive Muslims saw the birth of Modern Turkey and supported it instead of siding with the Khilafat Movement.

> "Turkey has been in our thoughts constantly and has drawn our admiration for the valour of your people and the way in which your statesmen and leaders have struggled and fought almost single-handed in the midst of Europe for your freedom and sovereignty which have been happily maintained.

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[34] Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Speeches and Statements as Governor General of Pakistan, p9 148-150

[35] Ibid, pp 159-160

> The exploits of your leaders in many a historic field of battle; the progress of your Revolution; the rise and career of the great Ataturk, his revitalization of your nation by his great statesmanship, courage and foresight, all these stirring events are well known to the people of Pakistan.
>
> In fact, right from the very birth of political consciousness amongst the Muslims of this great subcontinent, the fortunes of your country were observed by us with deep sympathy and interest."[36]

On 15 March, he talked to the Pakistan Red Cross Society at a meeting held at the Governor-General's house. He invited them to take care of the sick, wounded and those suffering from tuberculosis; introduce new ambulances; help soldiers; provide amenities in Women's and Children's Hospitals; train new workers; hold lectures to educate the people on health-related issues; and improve Maternity and Child Welfare Services.

On 21 March, Governor-General Mohammed Ali Jinnah addressed the people of Bengal and told them that the purpose of the government is only to serve the people and nothing else. He criticised the concept of mob rule and asked people to change governments, if they fail to perform, through votes instead of violence and blackmail. He told people that despite Western states having multicultural societies, all of them identify themselves as Americans, French or English first.

He advised the people of Pakistan to give up on hyper-nationalism, racism and provincialism and only identify themselves as Pakistanis first. He concluded his address by asking the people to serve their state through hard work and ignore propagandists in the Muslim community who were spreading religious and ethnic hatred. Later, he met the deputation of the Scheduled Caste Federation and responded to their various points.

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[36] Ibid, pp 161-162

> "We stand by our declarations that members of every community will be treated as citizens of Pakistan with equal rights and privileges and obligations and that the minorities will be safeguarded and protected. But you must have a little patience and give us time to make the effort to give effect to those declarations. I assure you of our goodwill and solicitude for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes in particular, as you have been downtrodden for centuries, and deserve more help than any other community. I have always advocated your cause and I shall continue to do so."[37]

Jinnah addressed the Gazetted Officers at Chittagong on March 25, 1948, where he promoted secular parliamentary democracy and civil supremacy.

> "Whatever community, caste or creed you belong to, you are now the servants of Pakistan... Those days have gone when the country was ruled by the bureaucracy. It is people's Government, responsible to the people more or less on democratic lines and parliamentary practices...
> You have to do your duty as servants; you are not concerned with this political or that political party; that is not your business. It is the business of politicians to fight out their case under the present constitution or the future constitution that may be ultimately framed...
>
> You are civil servants. Whichever [party] gets the majority will form the Government and your duty is to serve that Government for the time being as servants, not as politicians... I know we are saddled with old legacy, old mentality, old psychology and it haunts our footsteps, but it is up to you now to act as true servants of the people even at the risk of any

[37] Ibid, p 188

> Minister or Ministry trying to interfere with you in the discharge of your duties as civil servants...
>
> Wipe off that past reputation; you are not rulers. You do not belong to the ruling class; you belong to the servants... Now that freezing atmosphere must go; that impression of arrogance must go; that impression that you are rulers must go."[38]

Genuine left-leaning voices, secular Muslims and progressive elements in Pakistan raised the slogans of equality and an economic system based on social justice and Islamic Socialism. Jinnah responded to these slogans on 26 March 1948. He said that they were only voicing his sentiments by raising these slogans.

> "You are voicing my thoughts in asking and in aspiring for equal opportunities for all. These targets of progress are not controversial in Pakistan... Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man, these are all basic points of our religion, culture and civilization. And we fought for Pakistan because there was danger of denial of these human rights in this subcontinent. We aspired for these great ideals because of centuries of dual domination by the foreign rulers and by a caste-ridden social system... We are determined to evolve a State based on principles of equality and social justice."[39]

Being a well-informed individual, Jinnah raised the issue of potential floods in East Pakistan. Pakistan's Bengal also needed the port of Chittagong developed to make up for the loss of Calcutta.

> "Chittagong as a port is already coming into its own. During the last few months, ships of various nationalities... have harboured in your port. Chittagong is already handling a fair portion of your

[38] Ibid, pp 198-201
[39] Ibid, pp 204-205

> export and import trade. This has been possible mainly due to the efforts of us all to decrease our dependence on others.
>
> This achievement in such a short time shows what human will can do... I have frankly and clearly associated myself with your aspirations for developing your city of which you are justly proud. You urge for progress and your Government's efforts to reach the goal will soon get translated in the shape of large-scale projects...
>
> The most important scheme which concerns you vitally, and which is at present under active examination, is the harnessing of Karnaphuli river to control floods and silt, to irrigate fields and to develop cheap hydro-electric power. The necessary preliminary work is being expedited and the project is on our top priority list."[40]

On the 9th of April 1948, Quaid-e-Azam met French Ambassador, M. Leon Marshal, and praised French Revolution and secular democracy in the West. He called it a great inspiration for the Eastern states including Pakistan.

> "The magnificent history of your great country and its achievements are well-known to the world. In common with other nations, we in Pakistan have admired the high principles of democracy that form the basis of your great State. The cry of liberty, fraternity and equality which was raised during your great revolution and officially adopted by your great Republic had its repercussions throughout the world, as is known to every student of history. These ideals and these principles are still keeping up the hopes of many downtrodden nations."[41]

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[40] Ibid, pp 209-213
[41] Ibid, pp 217

On 12 April, Jinnah visited Islamia College in Peshawar. He told the students that due to the exit of foreign rule, their goals should also change. Now instead of radical approaches they must focus on their education and build their characters as peaceful citizens of Pakistan. "You must now direct your attention to scientific, commercial, banking, insurance, industry and technical education," Jinnah spoke to the crowd at the college.[42] In the same month, Pakistan's first Olympic games took place in Karachi. Quaid met Pakistan's female athletes there and encouraged people of all genders to maintain a healthy lifestyle because "for sound minds, we should have sound bodies".[43]

On 17 April Jinnah met a Jirga from tribal areas and ensured that tribal areas of Balochistan and NWFP would soon see progress and the said regions would be educated and rapidly built. He considered Balochistan the most underdeveloped and the most criminally neglected region of the subcontinent. Jinnah blamed internal and external forces for the miserable living conditions in the province, which persisted for centuries. He stated that the rest of Pakistan would need resources from tribal areas to develop, and in return, the State will have to go out of its way to facilitate the locals as much as possible and release funds for the development of their respective regions. He directed the government to solve issues like water shortage and communication in Balochistan. He also met the Parsi community of the said province.

> "Although you have not struck any note of your needs and requirements as a community but you know that it is the policy of my Government and myself that every member of every community irrespective of caste, colour, creed or race shall be fully protected with regard to his life, property and honour and that there should be peace in Pakistan and law and order should be maintained at any cost. I reiterate that you, like any other

[42] Ibid, p 222
[43] Ibid, p 245

minorities, will be treated as equal citizens with all your rights and obligations."[44]

Jinnah gave one of his last interviews on 17 July. When asked about the role of Islam in the making of state policy, he impatiently replied, "I am not interested in the religious aspect; that is not in my line."[45]45

Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah died on the 11th of September 1948. His funeral was attended by hundreds of thousands. His sister, Fatima Jinnah, and daughter, Dina Wadia, were also present. Jinnah's coffin was accompanied by a black flag and his relatives wore black dresses as per Shia traditions. The funeral was organised by the State, hence, publicly, the Sunni rituals were performed as the Sunnis were in majority. Then afterwards, the family performed Shia rituals in private. Several religious parties, including Jamat-e-Islami, didn't attend Jinnah's funeral as they considered him a heretic.

[44] Ibid, p 263
[45] The Saturday Evening Post. 17 July 1948

Chapter 16

The Aftermath

After Jinnah's death, various religious parties formed an alliance. They wanted Pakistan to become a non-democratic theocracy. According to ulema, sovereignty didn't rest with the people but with God. Since, in theocracies, the States are ruled by the priests or the Church in the name of God, the demand for the so-called 'Sovereignty of God' becomes vital. They threatened Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan that if he failed to listen, they'd hold country-wide protests.

> "The Sovereignty of Pakistan belongs to Allah alone, and the Government of Pakistan has no right other than to enforce the will of Allah. The basic law of Pakistan is the Shariah of Islam. All those laws repugnant to Islam are to be revoked, and, in future, no such laws can be passed. The Government of Pakistan shall exercise its authority within the limits prescribed by Islamic Shariah."

The economically weak State of Pakistan, ruled by the people who didn't enjoy the same amount of public support as Jinnah, decided to discuss these demands; hence, Objectives Resolution was introduced in 1949. Objectives Resolution was not a theocratic document. It claimed that sovereignty belonged to God but he gave the people of Pakistan the right to choose their elected representatives. There was a vague mention of Islam but the document stated that the State of Pakistan would enable Muslims to live their lives according to their religion on an individual level, instead of promising religious laws. In the very next sentence, it also promised non-Muslims that they'd have the freedom to live according to their religions and freely propagate their ideologies.

Liaquat Ali Khan himself portrayed Objectives Resolution as a secular document, instead of being a religious one, and claimed that it wouldn't become a substantive part of Pakistan's constitution and would only serve as a rough roadmap. Liaquat was right because, while his interpretation of secularism was not as modern as Jinnah's, it still

didn't make Objectives Resolution a theocratic document. It certainly had less focus on religion than some of the European constitutions. Denmark is often considered the most secular state on earth. Its constitution states, "The Evangelical Lutheran Church shall be the Established Church of Denmark, and as such, it shall be supported by the State." Meanwhile, the English constitution directs the State to protect their Christian and other "traditional values".

Objectives Resolution stated:

> "Sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to Allah Almighty alone and the authority which He has delegated to the state of Pakistan, through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust. This Constituent Assembly representing the people of Pakistan resolves to frame a constitution for the sovereign independent state of Pakistan. The state shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people.
>
> The principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed. The Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and Sunnah. Adequate provisions shall be made for the minorities to freely progress and practice their religions and develop their cultures.
> Pakistan shall be a federation and its constituent units will be autonomous. Fundamental rights shall be guaranteed. They include equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to (the) law and public morality.

> Adequate provisions shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes. The independence of the judiciary shall be fully secured. The integrity of the territories of the federation, its independence and all its rights, including its sovereign rights on land, sea and air shall be safeguarded."

> Religious parties were naturally not satisfied with Objectives Resolution and merely called it "a good start". The First Lady, Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan, gave an interview years later confirming that their interpretation of Islam was inspired by Classical Liberalism which originated from the religious movement. As a feminist and one of the co-founders of Pakistan, she claimed that they founded Pakistan as a secular state, even though Pakistan itself was the result of religious discrimination against minorities in India. When asked how was Pakistan envisioned, she answered, "Not the religious one of this type; it was a more liberal kind."

> "Quaid-e-Azam himself said the basis was religious but Pakistan was visualised as secular and democratic. Today Pakistan is out and out a theocracy and under that garb, every vestige of personal freedom is snatched away. We are ruled with injunctions and ordinances as to what we should do, how we should dress, how we must relate to each other."

In 1950, one year after Objectives Resolution was adopted, Liaquat Ali Khan and the Prime Minister of Hindustan signed the 'Liaquat-Nehru Pact', which guaranteed safeguards for minorities in both regions and that all government offices would be open to them. This was a dumbed-down version of the pacts Jinnah had in mind before the separation of the Pakistan and Hindustan regions. However, even this dumbed-down version of the agreement was not upheld by both states.

Liaquat Ali Khan got assassinated in 1951, which led to political chaos in Pakistan. In 1953, an alliance of religious parties by the name

of Majlas-e-Amal organised violent protests. Now their demand was to remove Ahmadis from government and declare them non-Muslims. Then Prime Minister, Khawaja Nazimuddin was willing to compromise on the first demand but not the second. Hence, an emergency was imposed in Punjab, the hotbed of these protests, and several religious leaders, including Maulana Maududi, were arrested, while the rest fled the country.

During interrogation, Maudid revealed that he had no plans to come to Pakistan but after the partition of Punjab, West Pakistan's non-Muslim population came down to 5%, which encouraged him to arrive in West Pakistan to slowly transform it into a theocracy. This was one of the reasons why Jinnah wanted as many non-Muslims in Pakistan as possible, so he could stop radical elements from taking over the country by balancing the minority-majority ratio in both Pakistan and Hindustan.

Munir Report was published in 1954 after interviewing 117 sects and sub-sects of Islam. The State noticed that no two people, even from the same religious party agreed on the definition of Islam, hence, it was unwise to turn Pakistan into a religious state because that would lead to conflicts over the definition of Islam.

> "No two ulema have agreed before us as to the definition of a Muslim... If there is one thing which has been conclusively demonstrated in this inquiry, it is that provided you can persuade the masses to believe that something they are asked to do is religiously right or enjoined by religion, you can set them to any course of action, regardless of all considerations of discipline, loyalty, decency, morality or civic sense...
>
> The sublime faith called Islam will live even if our leaders are not there to enforce it. It lives in the individual, in his soul and outlook, in all his relations with God and men, and our

politicians should understand that if Divine commands cannot make or keep man a Muslim, their statutes will not."[1]

During the emergency, several 'religious leaders' were given death sentences and this was a golden opportunity to get rid of extremism in Pakistan but the courts later released them and gave them an opportunity to reorganise. In 1956, Pakistan adopted its own constitution and became a republic. Now the State called itself the 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan'. The name Islamic Republic was the same as Pakistan's neighbour calling itself Hindustan or Bharat, which are Hindu names, even though their constitution was secular. The same was the case with England. It was an inclusive state and not just a state of whites with an English background. Despite adopting an Islamic identity, 1956's constitution was fairly inclusive and had no state religion. However, it had three issues.

First, Objectives Resolution, which should've been put aside after the constitution's completion, as Liaquat wanted, was made its preamble. Second, now President had to be a Muslim because oaths for non-Muslims were removed when it came to the President's office. Third, it wasn't a democratic constitution. It pretended to be the constitution of parliamentary democracy but gave executive powers to the President, who was a man of non-democratic forces. So, the Prime Minister had to work under gunpoint, and non-democratic forces could dismiss the governments whenever they wanted through the President. In 1958, Pakistan's constitution was abrogated, followed by the military takeover by its first dictator, Ayub Khan.

In 1962, Ayub introduced a new constitution. It openly introduced the presidential system, something which the 1956's constitution did behind a smokescreen. In 1962, Jamat-e-Islami asked Ayub to declare Islam as the 'Ideology of Pakistan'. Religiously, Ayub himself was open-minded and temporarily changed the country's name to 'Republic of Pakistan', but to keep his rule away from the street protests of the clergy, he started promoting Islam through newly introduced school

[1] Munir Report (aka Munir Kiyani Report), pp 231-232

books by the name of 'Social Studies' and 'Pak Studies'. In these books, he promoted Brelvi Islam, because it was considered close to tolerant Sufi Islam, but the chain reaction was only going to make things worse.

Ayub also created two religious authorities: The Council of Islamic Ideology and the Islamic Research Centre. Both of these religious authorities were occupied by Islamic Modernists. Just after a year after changing the country's name, Ayub once more declared Pakistan an Islamic Republic. Even though Objectives Resolution had promised autonomous zones in Pakistan, in 1953, Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra, who was preceded by Khawaja Nazimuddin, decided to adopt one unit formula for Pakistan and have a strong centre.

The strong centre was one of the main reasons why the Pakistan region and the Hindustan region got separated, and now Pakistan was about to repeat the same mistake made by the Congress Party. Ayub, in the 1960s, further strengthened this formula, which led to more separatist movements in Balochistan and Bengal, as North Punjab became the centre of power. In 1969, Yahya Khan took over the country and imposed second martial law. During his rule, East Pakistan got separated and became Bangladesh. Its founder, Sheikh Mujeeb, had demanded the revival of the Lahore Resolution's spirit, which meant autonomy for the provinces. He was not only denied the position in the government despite winning the elections but also showed the door when it came to provincial autonomy.

Sheikh Mujeeb didn't mention language as one of the issues behind Bengal's separation. The Bengali Language was already one of the two national languages of Pakistan since 1954. The issue mainly revolved around the distribution of power, something from which Pakistan still suffers. After losing Bengal, Yahya Khan tried to save his image by playing the religion card and stated that Pakistan should adopt the so-called Ideology of Pakistan. This also empowered mullahs who claimed that Pakistan's downfall was the result of 'moving away from religion'. In 1973, the first true democratic constitution was adopted by Pakistan, which introduced a parliamentary system. However, it was also not

without its flaws, and to bring the ulema on board, several compromises had to be made.

Non-Muslim oaths were now also removed for the Prime Minister's office and Islam was declared the state religion. A year later, the second amendment defined what it meant to be a Muslim. Now one had to believe in the finality of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH to be called one. This altered the oaths for the President and Prime Minister's office, hence, excluding Ahmadis from the race. This was done because the same religious groups that were dispersed in 1953 once again gathered their strength and ended up blackmailing Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's government through street protests.

Also in the 70s, the 'Red Cross Society' which was inaugurated by Jinnah in 1947 was renamed the 'Red Crescent Society' as the former name was called 'un-Islamic'. In 1977, Bhutto was forced to close clubs and ban alcohol for Muslims after violent protests by the mullahs. In the same year, his government was overthrown by an Islamist dictator, Zia-ul-Haq, who later got Bhutto hanged in a fake murder case.

In 1979, Zia outlawed pre-martial sex through the Zina Ordinance. In 1980, he formed a federally administered Sharia Court. In the mid-80s, he brought Ordinance XX, which prevented Ahmadis from having the Holy Quran, practising their religion, calling their places of worship 'mosques' and writing kalima on their walls. He created a force by the name of Allah's Tigers to moral police men and women seen in public together. His Zina Ordinance and Allah's Tigers even blackmailed brothers and sisters if seen together. Corrupt policemen made money by pressurising the common citizens and prostitutes alike.

He made the Objectives Resolution a substantive part of the constitution. Now instead of letting individuals live their lives according to religion on their own and providing them with a safe environment to do so, State started imposing religious laws on the people, which ended up creating sectarian issues in Pakistan. He also removed the word 'freely' from Objectives Resolution to prevent non-Muslims from practising their religion and living their lives as free citizens openly.

Jinnah used three words to describe the state motto. These were 'Unity', 'Faith' and 'Discipline'. Their sequence was always random when used by Jinnah. But now 'Faith' was always placed before the other words and more significantly, its interpretation was changed from 'believing in a cause' to 'spreading religion'. Hence, the State-led divine mission became the main objective of Pakistan, something which Jinnah bitterly opposed throughout his political career.

Punishments like stoning and public floggings were also introduced by Zia. A woman now had to produce four witnesses to prove that she was raped by a man. If failed to do so, then she was punished for adultery. One blind woman couldn't pinpoint her rapists, hence, she was thrown in jail for 'adultery'. Over 6000 women rotted in prison cells during Zia's dictatorship. Religious authorities like the Council of Islamic Ideology and Islamic Research Centre now had religious extremists instead of Islamic Modernists, and the books like Social Studies and Pak Studies now taught religious intolerance and jihad. The history was also distorted to please the Islamists who used to be anti-Jinnah.

In 1986, the blasphemy law was amended. Now one could get executed for mere statements on religion. Between 1947 and 1987, only two extra-judicial killings in the name of blasphemy took place. Between 1987 and 2017, over 57 extra-judicial killings happened.[2] This is the evidence of Blasphemy Law increasing radicalisation in Pakistan by 28 folds. Almost all the dead victims of this law were later found innocent. Those who were blamed for 'committing blasphemy' but weren't lynched by a mob continued to suffer in prison. In many cases, land mafias have used these laws to get people lynched or arrested, just to steal their lands afterwards. Due to the fear of losing their lives, critical thinkers started to leave the country and society became extremely backwards.

Zia also destroyed audio recordings of Jinnah's 11 August speech, however, bits and pieces of it survived. He also hid texts of countless other speeches where he promoted an inclusive society. Later they reappeared during Benazir Bhutto's government, the first

[2] Dawn's Survey

democratically elected female ruler in the Islamic World. Zia died in 1988 and one year after his death, Sharia Court declared feudalism an 'Islamic Practice', hence, giving land grabbers permission to steal from the poor, destroy their lands and exploit the masses.

In the coming decades, slowly the Zina Ordinance got amended; public floggings and hangings were banned; rape laws were improved; provinces were given some autonomy; 'freely' was added back in Objectives Resolution; and hundreds of women were released from the prisons who were rotting there for committing so-called adultery. However, it is still not enough as the issues of Balochistan are still intact and Pakistan suffers from extremism. Followers of Brelvi Islam, who were once considered tolerant, also became radical after the creation of Tehreek-e-Lubaik Pakistan in 2015; Ahmadis are still being prosecuted; now radicals want legislation against the Shia Muslims; history taught in schools is still distorted; and religious authorities are still there to keep the country in a stone age.

As per Article 230 of 1973's Constitution, the Council of Islamic Ideology has already submitted its final report in 1996. The Constitution is silent about the authority's existence beyond that point, but due to threats from the mullahs, the politicians and the military continue to adopt right-wing populist narratives for catering to the lowest common denominator. There is no leader like Jinnah, who survived two assassination attempts but refused to create theocracy and ruin the image of Muslims across the globe.

Meanwhile, some people still continue to push for a strong centre. It's safe to say that Pakistan's society hasn't learned its lesson from the past, because the past itself is not being taught in schools correctly. On the other hand, for the last several decades, Islamists and secular people are busy putting labels on Pakistan. In arrogance, only labels are being focused on, instead of implementing Jinnah's vision in letter and spirit and then deciding the label afterwards, whether it's 'Islamic' or 'Secular'.

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